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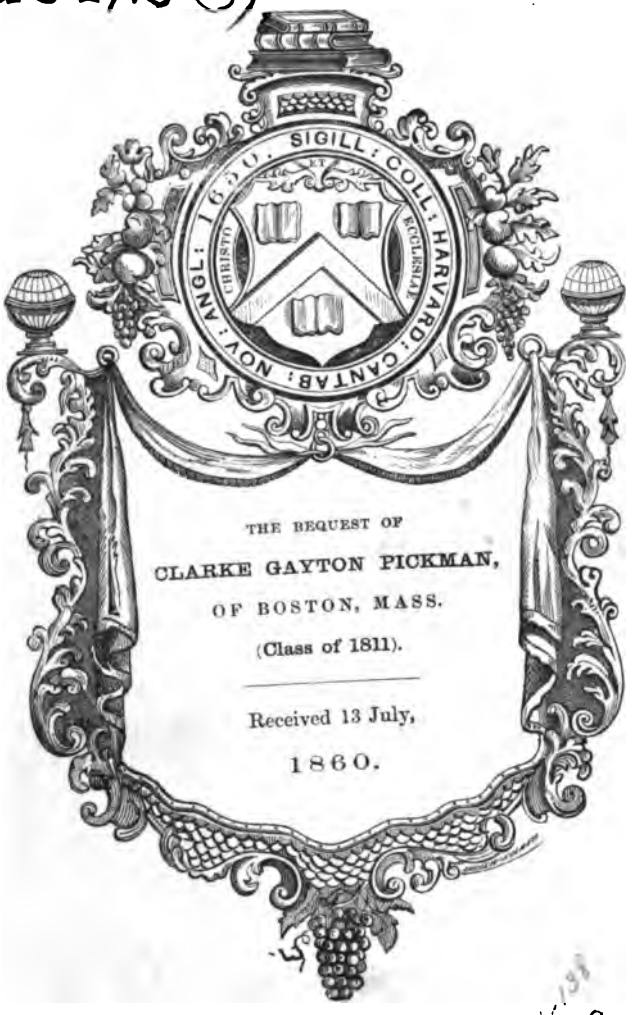

THE BEQUEST OF
CLARKE GAYTON PICKMAN,
OF BOSTON, MASS.
(Class of 1811).

Received 13 July,
1860.

Anal.

ARCHÆOLOGIA AMERICANA.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

VOLUME III.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1857.

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1860, July 13.
Richmond Bequest.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS volume of the Society's Transactions and Collections was commenced in 1850. It was the intention, at that time, to print the whole of the first volume of the archives of Massachusetts, containing the records of the Company and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from their beginning to the year 1641.

Much anxiety had been expressed on account of the precarious condition of that manuscript, which was rapidly wasting under the wear and tear of frequent examination; and it was believed that no better service could be rendered to the cause of American history than the effort to preserve the contents of that valuable document from the chances of loss or mutilation.

In order to retain, so far as practicable, the characteristic features of the original, it was thought desirable to present as minute and literal a copy as could intelligibly be maintained in print.

The transcript was executed by Mr. DAVID PULSIFER, who unites the qualities of an *expert* in chirography with a genuine antiquarian taste and much familiarity with ancient records. The care and labor of collation were shared with him by Rev. Dr. FELT, then one of the Committee of Publication, whose service to the State, in the examination and arrangement of its early documents, furnished unusual preparation for the task.

It was also proposed that the text should be accompanied with explanatory and illustrative notes, embracing concise references to contemporary events affecting or affected by the transactions recorded, and to the private history of persons whose names were found prominently connected with public affairs.

The Company of Massachusetts Bay, to which the Colonial Government succeeded by gradations so delicate as to be nearly imperceptible, may be said, with almost literal truth, to have been without a history. The circumstances attending its origin and primitive organization were but imperfectly known, and no list of its members had been transmitted. Yet, however inadequate the means for that purpose, some account of the rise of the Corporation, and of the personal standing and character of the men who conceived and sustained the enterprise for which it was formed, was regarded as an indispensable antecedent to the register of its acts and operations. An effort was therefore made to comprehend, in an introductory narrative, such facts as time and opportunity permitted to be gathered respecting the commencement of the Company, the individuals who composed it, and the aims and objects of the association.

After so much of the matter as is contained herewith had been printed, and before the residue was prepared for the press, the authorities of the State very wisely determined to take upon themselves the publication of all the more ancient volumes of Legislative Records; covering, of course, the comparatively limited portion included in the purpose of the Antiquarian Society.

Not unwilling to be relieved from an expensive and laborious duty, the Society suffered its plan to terminate with the period of the transfer of the charter and government to New England, — a point of time, and stage of progress, convenient for that conclusion. Thus it happened

that only the transactions which took place in England, before the embarkation of WINTHROP and his followers, were printed by the Society. The book in which these entries had been made was brought over by the colonists, and the records were continued in it without any immediate change of form or manner to betray the transition from a business corporation to a political community; yet such a revolution had, in reality, been effected, the epoch of a commercial administration was finished, and the era of a civil government had begun.

A very important portion of the record, that was missing from the original volume, has been brought to light by the recent discovery of a copy made before this mutilation occurred. This portion is now inserted in its proper place. It contains not only various facts of special interest, but several new names to be added to the conjectural list of members of the Company, and some baptismal names that had not previously been mentioned.

As the notes to the Records, and the historical and biographical matter introductory to this division of the Society's volume, were prepared by the undersigned on behalf of the Committee of Publication, it is proper that he should assume the responsibility of their accuracy. No one can realize more sensibly the incompleteness of the sketch that constitutes the Prefatory Chapter, or desire more earnestly, that, with ampler materials and greater ability, full justice might be done to the interesting subject of which it treats.

S. F. HAVEN.

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ERRATA & ADDENDA.

Page xv., Note 2, second line; for "unconnected," read *uncorrected.*

Page lxv., Note 2; for "Oxienses," read *Oxonienses.*

Page lxxx., "Richard Tuffneale, Daniel Hodsen." According to Rushworth, Coll. p. 1109, Richard Tuffnell was a member of Parliament from Surrey in 1640. The newly recovered pages of the Records contain the name, there spelled "Tuffnayle;" and also the name of Hodsen, there spelled "Hudson." The orthography of names is far from being uniform in the Records; but, in the copy of the pages referred to, the changes are sometimes so great as to indicate a fault in the copyist.

Page lxxxii., "A. C." In the recovered pages, these initials occur with the prefix "Mrs.," implying a lady-member, or subscriber to the Company-stock.

Page lxxxv., fourth line from the top; after "Artillery," insert *Garden.*

Page xciv., "Spurstow." William Spurstow, Esq., M.P., was undoubtedly the member of the Company. His name is found connected with New England in various relations. (See Colonial Records of Rhode Island, vol. i. p. 146; N. E. Gen. Reg., vol. i. new series, p. 43.)

Page xcvii., "Ironside." From the recovered pages, we learn that this member's name was *Edward.*

Page ci., "Wynche." The baptismal name of *Daniel* may here be supplied from the same source.

Pages cxxxiv.–vi., Catalogue of the Company. To "A. C.," prefix *Mrs;* to "Backhouse," prefix *William;* to "Ironside," prefix *Edward;* after "Abraham Palmer," insert *Herbert Pelham;* to "Spurstow," prefix *William;* to "Walgrave," prefix *Thomas;* to "Wynche," prefix *Daniel.*

Additional names from the recovered pages. — Thomas Beard, of St. Martin's, shoemaker, to go over at his own charge. William Ryall and Thomas Braid, coopers, to go half at the charge of the Governor, half at the charge of the Company. John Gibes (? Giles); John Wighte; John French; John Slanie, plasterer; Mr. John Goose; Mr. Tayler; Mr. Tanner; Mr. John Bowles (doubtless a member, from his connection with thirty-two others, members, to whom warrants for money were delivered, and probably the same who was made freeman in 1640); Mr. Edward Turvile; Mr. Anthony Webster; Richard Trott; Mr. John Clarke; Richard Bowry; Mr. Thomas Prince.

Page cxxxviii., "William Sherman." A William Sherman was member of Parliament in 1640. Rushworth, 1108.

Page 45, "Mr. River." For "River," read *Revell.*

Page 163, line 18; for "Ind," read *Jud.*

Page 241, Note 2; for April 19, read April 29.

RECORDS

OF THE

COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

TO THE EMBARKATION OF WINTHROP AND HIS ASSOCIATES

FOR NEW ENGLAND,

AS CONTAINED IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE ARCHIVES

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY BOLLES AND HOUGHTON.
1850.

PREFATORY CHAPTER.

ORIGIN OF THE COMPANY.

The Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, derived its territorial patent from "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing, of New England in America."

The Council established at Plymouth, &c., originated with the first charter of Virginia, granted by James I. in 1606.

A connection, through individuals, may also be traced between the first Charter of Virginia, and the enterprises of discovery and colonization, undertaken by Sir Walter Raleigh; and through him again with those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose proprietary patent was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1578.

An interval of more than eighty years separates the period last named, from that of the discovery of the country by the Cabots.

The chain of British title, and the progress of colonial enterprise, may be briefly stated as follows:

In 1496, the Cabots were empowered by Henry 7th, to search for countries hitherto unknown to any Christian people, to affix the banners of England on any city, island, or continent, they might find, and to possess and occupy the same as vassals of the English Crown.[1]

Acting under this special authority from the King, John and Sebastian Cabot first discovered the North American Continent, (June, or July, 1497,) at some point north of Newfoundland; and one or both of them sailed along the coast nearly or quite as far South as the present State of North Carolina.[2]

This indisputable priority of discovery is the basis of the British claim to sovereignty and possession of the Northern Continent.

No important efforts were made to maintain and exercise these rights until 1578.[3] In that year Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, (June 11th,) which, although the North American coast was the intended field of enterprise, were

[1] "Concessimus etiam eisdem et eorum cuilibet, eorumq. et cujuslibet eorum, hæredibus et deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas bannerias nostras, et insignia, in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula, seu terra firma, se noviter inventis." *Hackluyt. Hazard.*

[2] "Nearly fourteen months before Columbus came in sight of the main land, (Aug. 1, 1498,) and almost two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries." *Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot. Bancroft.*

[3] In 1502, Hugh Elliot, and Thomas Ashurst, received a charter from Henry 7th, for colonizing the country newly discovered by the Cabots; but probably made no use of it. *Anderson's Hist. of Commerce*, ii. 7. *Hume*, ch. 26. *Holmes's Annals.*

expressed in general terms, authorizing him, during the period of six years, to discover and take possession of, "such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, as to him, his heirs and assigns, shall seem good," to be held on the feudal principles of homage and tribute to herself and her successors.

The designs of Gilbert having been defeated by a variety of circumstances, terminating in the loss of his own life, he accomplished nothing but a formal and ceremonious assumption of jurisdiction over the island of Newfoundland, and the adjacent fisheries, as appertaining to the Crown of England.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert having perished without fulfilling the conditions of his grant, his associate, and half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained a similar patent, (March 25th, 1584,) and soon after caused a settlement to be commenced within the present bounds of North Carolina. Pleased with the descriptions of the country, Queen Elizabeth gave it the name of Virginia, which, for a considerable time after, served as an appellation for the whole coast, from Florida to Canada.

Disappointed of the success he had anticipated, and also occupied with other affairs, Raleigh, in 1589, made an assignment *from* his patent to sundry merchants and adventurers, of such rights and powers as he hoped would secure the continuance of his at-

tempted plantation at the proposed city, which was to bear and perpetuate his name.[1]

These renewed efforts proving abortive, after much expense of life and treasure, and all private rights having become extinct in consequence of failure to fulfil prescribed conditions, or, as sometimes stated, by the attainder of Raleigh, a few persevering spirits, some of whom had been connected with previous enterprises, engaged in a new and more extensive scheme. By their solicitation, "The Great Patent of Virginia," which was destined to result in a permanent occupation of the country, was obtained from James I. in 1606.

At that period not an Englishman was known to be in the land; and, with the exception of some French settlements in Canada and Nova Scotia, and a few Spanish posts in Florida, the American Continent, North of the Gulf of Mexico, was wholly unpossessed by any civilized people.[2]

By this patent of 1606, the right of colonization between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude was assigned to two companies. One of these, denominated *The First, or Southern Colony of Virginia*, was limited to the region between the 34th and 41st

[1] Some historians speak of this transaction as an assignment of Raleigh's whole patent. See *Chalmers*, *Holmes*, *Grahame*, &c. It was, in fact, but a partial conveyance *under it* for certain purposes, towards the accomplishment of which he contributed an hundred pounds, as a donation. The instrument is in Hazard's Historical Collections.

[2] *Holmes*, i. p. 123, n.

degrees of latitude. The other, called *The Second, or Northern Colony of Virginia*, was limited to the region between the 38th and 45th degrees of latitude. The former, consisting chiefly of persons in and about London, was commonly called the *London* Company; as the other was termed the *Plymouth* Company, because a large portion of its members were from the neighborhood of Plymouth.

The settlements were not entitled to a very extensive jurisdiction; it being confined to fifty miles along the coast on each side of their point of location, one hundred miles into the interior, and the same distance from the shore upon the ocean. It was also provided that neither company should plant within one hundred miles of any settlement already begun by the other.

Each of the two colonies was to have for its private government a Council of thirteen; and a General Council, also of thirteen, was established in England, with a general control over both colonies.

As the Southern colony soon took root within the country, and flourished, the provisions of the charter were materially altered for its benefit, according to the change of circumstances from time to time. By two successive additional charters or patents, (May 23, 1609, and March 12, 1611–12,) the organization and style of the company were changed, and its territory extended from sea to sea, with a width of four hundred miles, embracing all islands within three hun-

dred leagues of the Atlantic coast. Other important variations were also introduced.

In the mean time, the Second or Northern Company had met with no permanent success in colonizing the northern portion of the country; although the coast was not infrequently visited, and sometimes explored. By a singular combination of parties, Sir John Popham, who, as Chief Judge, appears to have presided with scandalous injustice at the condemnation of Raleigh, formed a connection with Sir John Gilbert and Raleigh Gilbert, two nephews of Raleigh, for planting a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec; which, although fairly begun in 1607, was soon after broken up and abandoned.

In 1614, Captain John Smith, having left the colony of South Virginia and engaged in a voyage to the northern division, ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and made a map of the country. At his suggestion, the region was first called NEW ENGLAND.

The enlarged information resulting from these expeditions, and the favorable accounts promulgated by adventurers, excited a renewed interest in England. Yet, before proceeding to any important enterprise, it was natural that the managers of the Plymouth Company should wish to have their rights and privileges placed upon an equal footing with those of the Southern or London Company. This reasonable claim was,

however, strenuously resisted; and it was not till after a long struggle that "the Great Patent of New England" was obtained, (Nov. 3, 1620,) about a month preceding the casual landing of the Pilgrims on its shores.[1]

The Plymouth Company, strengthened by the addition of new associates, thus became a distinct and independent body, denominated "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America."[2]

This corporation, which had always been less wealthy and powerful than the London Company, seems never to have proved sufficiently united and vigorous for active undertakings; and confined its operations to

[1] The order in Council is dated July 23, 1620, and directs "That a patent of incorporation be granted to the Adventurers of the Northern Colony of Virginia, to contain the like Liberties, Privileges, Power, Authorities, Lands, and all other things within their limits, viz. between the degrees of 40 and 48, as were heretofore granted to the company in Virginia, excepting only, that whereas the said Company have a freedom of custom and subsidy for 21 years, and of impositions forever, this new company is to be free of custom and subsidy the like term of years, and of impositions after, so long a time as his majesty shall please to grant unto them." It will be perceived that the limits differ from those named in the patent of 1606. *Gorges's Hist. of America. Hazard's Hist. Col.*

[2] In the certified copy of the Great Patent of New England, by Chalmers, is a curious misprint which stands uncorrected in the appendix to Trumbull's History of Connecticut, and might lead the casual reader to suppose that the country had been previously inhabited by the British. In the preamble to the patent, among other reasons assigned for granting it, is that remarkable destruction of the natives by a plague, &c., which seemed to clear the way for the introduction of a new race. It reads thus in Chalmers's copy. "And also, for that we have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years, there hath by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague, together with many horrible slaughters and murders, committed amongst the savages and *British people* there heretofore inhabiting, &c." It should be *brutish* people. *See charter in Hazard's Hist. Col.*

the sale of grants to individuals or associations possessing greater confidence and energy.

Among its grantees were "six religious persons," viz.: Sir Henry Roswell, or Rosewell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb, to whom was conveyed (March 19, 1628) a territory around the Massachusetts Bay, extending from three miles north of every part of the River Merrimack to three miles south of every part of Charles River, and stretching through the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

These individuals, and their associates next obtained a charter from the Crown, (March 4, 1629) which added a civil constitution to mercantile and territorial privileges, and conferred upon them the style and title of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."

THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND.

In tracing the foundations of a Kingdom, or a Commonwealth, the imagination is often excited by the shadowy outline of events, and the imperfect development of personal characteristics, which are found upon record. Traits of heroism, in character and action, are the prominent points that present themselves; and fancy is ever ready to supply what is wanting to complete the picture.

While the historian philosophizes, and deduces motives from conduct, or infers them from the tendencies of the period, and the impelling circumstances that surround the personages whose deeds he commemorates, it is the office of the antiquary simply to separate facts from the rubbish of time, to arrange them in their order, and leave them to speak for themselves. Their interpretation is a different and distinct enterprise, to be undertaken after his has been accomplished.

The object in view here, is to prepare the reader for entering upon a perusal of the journal contained in

this volume, by collecting such information respecting the parties concerned, and events preceding the commencement of the record, as will aid his comprehension of the text.

At the opening of the 17th century, there were three stimulants to adventure operating in England, simultaneous, and often united in their influence.

First, a spirit of commercial speculation, which, seeking to turn the resources of the new world to pecuniary profit, was by no means confined to traders and business men in the technical sense of the terms: Secondly, dreams of feudal proprietorship over unlimited domains, chiefly affecting persons of rank and estate. Thirdly, a craving for freedom of religious doctrine and worship, experienced by men of every class and station.

Between these three kinds of adventurers a mutual connection and dependence existed, sometimes causing an embarrassing mixture of purposes. The refugee for conscience' sake needed the capital of the trader; the trader counted on the efficient energy of the religious enthusiast; both required the patronage of the courtier, who had a voice near the throne; and he in turn used the others as instruments for executing his ambitious designs. That results should not have accorded with the anticipations of either of these several parties, is a circumstance not singular in the affairs of the world.

From the year 1619, an increasing traffic had been

carried on between the western ports of Great Britain and the fishing grounds of New England. The use of these fisheries by unlicensed vessels was at first resisted by the Council at Plymouth as a trespass upon their jurisdiction; but it was found impracticable to maintain an exclusive control over the waters of an unoccupied region. An officer was sent over in 1623 with a commission to enforce the sovereignty of the Council, but found the fishermen too strong for him.[1] In 1624 the number of vessels arriving is said to have been about fifty.[2]

Among the parties engaged in this business was a company, the seat of whose management was at Dorchester, one of the oldest towns, and also one of the most interesting localities in England. Finely situated on the river Frome, in Dorsetshire, six miles from the British Channel, this was a place of importance under the Romans. It resisted, without success, the invasion of Sweyn, King of Denmark, in the year 1003, when the town was burned and its walls destroyed. It is surrounded by the remains of Roman works, and the burial mounds of the Saxons.

Thus connected with remote ages of history in the *old* world, its memory deserves to be transmitted to the latest annals of the *new;* not only on account of its important agency in the commencement of Ameri-

[1] An order of Parliament, that does not appear to have had the King's sanction, was afterwards obtained that fishing should be free. *Prince. Bancroft.*

[2] Prince, quoting from Capt. John Smith.

can civilization, but because the character of its inhabitants so well exemplified that of the first settlers of New England, many of whom came from its immediate neighborhood. It was one of the earliest positions fortified against King Charles I. and is described as having been "particularly disaffected to the royal cause, more so than any place in England," and as "the *magazine* whence the other places were supplied with the principles of rebellion."[1]

There resided in Dorchester a Puritan divine, John White by name, who still conformed to the ceremonies of the Church of England, and was rector of a parish. He is described as "a person of great gravity and presence," and as always having influence with the Puritan party both near and at a distance, "who bore him more respect than they did to their diocesan." He is styled "famous," "the Patriarch of Dorchester," &c.[2]

To these honorable titles have been added those of the "father of the Massachusetts Colony," and "the Patriarch of New England."[3] The earliest account of the beginning and progress of colonization at Massachusetts Bay is ascribed to his pen; and his was evidently the leading mind at its inception, and during its primitive transactions.

In his "narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progress of the whole work, by such as have been

[1] "Dorsetshire" in "*Beauties of England and Wales.*"
[2] *Echard's Hist. of England*, p. 653.
[3] *Fuller's Worthies of England. Callender's Historical Discourse.*

privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony," is the following statement:

"About the yeare 1623, some Western *Marchants*, (who had continued a trade of fishing for Cod and bartering for Furres in those parts for divers yeares before) conceiving that a Colony planted on the coast might further them in those employments, bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alleging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge, by the opportunities of their fishing trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their ships, that (by the helpe of many hands) they might despatch their voyage and lade their ships with fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sayling company. Now it was conceived that, the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary saylors, might be left behind with provisions for a yeare, and when that ship returned the next yeare they might assist them in fishing as they had done the former yeare; and, in the meane time, might employ themselues in building, and planting Corn, which with the provisions of Fish, Fowle, and Venison, that the Land yeelded, would affoord the chiefe of their foode. This Proposition of theirs tooke so well, that it drew on divers persons to joyne with them in this project; the rather because it was conceived that not only their owne Fishermen, but the rest of our Nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not only by fresh victuall, which that Colony might spare them in time, but withall, and more, by the benefit of their Minister's labours, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise, being usually upon those Voyages nine or ten moneths in the yeare, they were left all the while without any meanes of instruction at all. Compassion towards the Fishermen, and partly some expectation of gain, prevailed so farre that for the

planting of a Colony in *New England* there was raised a Stocke of more than £ 3,000, intended to be payed in five years, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time."[1]

They first purchased a small ship of fifty tons burden, which brought over fourteen spare men, who were left at Cape Ann. The New Plymouth men, and perhaps others, had stages at that place for drying and curing fish, and it was now selected for a permanent plantation. The expenses of this voyage exceeded the profits by more than £600. The next year an additional vessel of about 140 tons was obtained, and, in the two, thirty-two men were sent over to the settlement; and in consequence of costly repairs and great delays, another loss, of £1700, was incurred. The third year both ships, and a smaller one of 40 tons, were employed, and a still further less experienced of £900.

Completely discouraged by this ill success, involving the loss of their whole capital, the adventurers abandoned the prosecution of their design, determined to dissolve the company on land, and sold their shipping and provisions. The ill choice of the place for fishing, the ill carriage of the men at the settlement, and ill

[1] The Tract is entitled "THE PLANTER'S PLEA. Or the grounds of plantations examined, And usual Objections answered. *Together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately vndertaken a Plantation in* NEW ENGLAND: For the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulnesse of the Action. London. Printed by William Iones, 1630." Sm. 4to. pp. 88. It is reprinted literally in Force's Historical Tracts, vol. II.

sales for the fish, &c., are assigned by White as reasons for the bad result of the adventure.

The condition of things at that period, along the coast of what is now the State of Massachusetts, may be described in a few words. The Pilgrims had been established at New Plymouth since the winter of 1620, and had overcome the first difficulties of a plantation. In 1624, they had begun to occupy, for purposes of trade, two prominent points in Massachusetts Bay, Cape Ann, and Hull, then called Nantasket. For the former place they claimed to have a patent. At the latter a building was erected, and Roger Conant, John Oldham, and a few other disaffected persons, who were obliged to leave the colony at Plymouth, had located themselves there with their families. In the spring of the same year, David Thomson, a Scotchman, had taken possession of "Thomson's Island," which was subsequently confirmed to his son by the General Court. Thomas Weston, a merchant, and Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had each in turn attempted to plant a colony at Weymouth (Wessagusset); the first in 1622, the last a year later; but both are described as being at an end in 1624.[1] Thus, when the Dorchester fishermen began to form a settlement at Cape Ann, no positions, within even the present limits of Massachusetts,

[1] Prince, from Bradford's lost MSS. Holmes says they received an accession of numbers in 1624 from Weymouth in England, from whence the name given to the place. *Annals*, i. p. 185.

seem to have been actually occupied by colonists, excepting Plymouth and Nantasket; the latter being hardly entitled to the name of a plantation.[1]

There appears not to have been the most perfect concord between the adventurers from Dorchester and the pilgrims at Plymouth. A sharp dispute arose respecting the possession of a fishing stage, which Hubbard says "might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter," but for the influence of some peace-makers, who interposed their good offices between the agent of the former and Captain Standish, whose warlike temper was easily kindled.

Another indication of difference of sentiment, which may not have arisen from unfriendly feelings, is shown by the disposition of Mr. White and his associates to sustain Oldham, Lyford, and Conant, in their quarrel with the authorities at Plymouth. John Lyford is designated by Governor Bradford as "the minister whom a faction of the adventurers in England sent to hinder Mr. Robinson;" and John Oldham as "a private instrument of the factious part of the adventurers in England." These he says "we had called to council in our chief affairs without distrust, yet they fall a plotting both against our Church and government."

[1] There may have been stragglers and unsettled persons in other places. What is said in Levett's "Voyage into New England," (*Mass. Hist. Col.* 3d se. vol. viii.) about the beginning of a new plantation at Cape Ann by the Plymouth people; and by Captain Smith about the Dorchester men holding of those of New Plymouth, can be understood to mean no more than that the people of Plymouth had erected a fishing stage, and that they had obtained what Hubbard calls "a useless Patent" for the place.

Roger Conant was their associate and friend, and withdrew with them from the colony.[1] Mr. White and his friends, being dissatisfied with their first managers at Cape Ann, at the end of the year appointed Conant their general agent, invited Lyford to be the minister of the place, and endeavored, without success however, to induce Oldham to trade for them with the Indians.

So distinct were the proceedings of the colonists at Massachusetts Bay from those of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, even if no adverse feelings are supposed to have been cherished.[2]

How the project of a settlement came to be renewed,

[1] For an account of the difficulty, see *Morton's N. E. Memorial*, p. 111 et seq. *Prince's Annals for* 1624–5, and *Young's Chronicles of Plymouth*, p. 476.

[2] Mr. White and his friends undoubtedly thought the difference to be one merely of religious opinions, and were not aware of the charges brought against the personal behavior of Oldham and Lyford, and especially against the moral character of the latter. There was a division among the supporters of the Plymouth Colony in England, part of whom considered the religious polity of the Pilgrims too narrow, and unfavorable to the operations of trade. These may have influenced Mr. White, who was not a separatist.

It is a point of some interest to determine how far the founders of the Massachusetts Colony had been connected with the older Colony at Plymouth. But little light, however, can be thrown upon the subject. There were adventurers in England possessing a pecuniary interest in the settlement at Plymouth, who, like those concerned in the plantation at Massachusetts Bay, appear to have been actuated by religious and philanthropic motives mingled with the hopes of gain. Their organization may fairly be taken as a prototype of the original organization of the Massachusetts Company. Capt. John Smith, in his "Present estate of New Plymouth," tells us that their capital stock was £7,000; that they were not a corporation, but knit together by voluntary combination without restraint or penalty; that they had a President and Treasurer, chosen annually by the majority, who ordered the affairs of their courts and meetings, and undertook all ordinary business; but that in more weighty affairs the assent of the whole company was required.

Disagreements having arisen between the planters at Plymouth and the

after the failure of the first undertaking, may be stated best in Mr. White's own words.

"Upon the manifestation of the *Western Adventurers'* resolution to give off their worke, most part of the *Land-men*, being sent for, returned; but a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind, and to take charge of the Cattle sent over the year before; which they performed accordingly: and not liking their seate at *Cape Anne* chosen especially for the supposed commoditie of fishing, they transported themselues to *Nahumkeike*, about foure or five leagues distant to the *South West* from *Cape Anne*.

Some then of the *Adventurers* that still continued their desire to set forward the plantation of a *Colony* there, conceiving that if some more Cattle were sent over to those few Men left behind, they might not only be a meanes of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the Country, but of inviting some other of their Friends and Acquaintance to come over to them, adventured to send over twelve Kine and Buls more. And conferring casually with some *Gentlemen* of *London*, moved them to adde vnto them as many more. By which occasion the businesse came to agitation afresh in *London*, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar. In so much, that some men shewing some good affection to the worke, and offering the helpe of their purses, if fit men might be procured to go over, enquiry was made whither any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage; by this enquiry it fell out that

company in England, Isaac Allerton was sent by the former to see if a composition could be made with the adventurers, by which their claims should be discharged, and their rights conveyed to the actual planters at Plymouth. This was accomplished; and the instrument of conveyance, dated Nov. 15th, 1626, preserved in Gov. Bradford's letter-book, (*3d Mass. Hist. Col.* p. 48) has attached to it forty-two names. At the head of the list are John White and John Pocock, and among the rest are Thomas Goffe, Samuel Sharp, John Revell, and Thomas Andrews, all of whom were subsequently members of the Massachusetts Company.

among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott*, a man well known to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept the offer as soone as it was tendered; which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this worke of erecting a new *Colony* upon the old foundation. Hereupon, divers persons having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable Summe of money, A Patent was granted, with large encouragements every way, by his most Excellent Maiestie."

After Mr. White, the best authority for these transactions, is Rev. William Hubbard, a contemporary and neighbor of Roger Conant, from whom he may have derived his narrative. In his *General History of New England* he says that at the end of the first year's experiment at Cape Ann,

"Mr. White, with the rest of the adventurers, hearing of some religious and well affected persons that were lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation, of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one — a religious, sober, and prudent gentleman, yet surviving about Salem till the year 1680, wherein he finished his pilgrimage — having a great hand in all these fore-mentioned transactions about Cape Anne — they pitched upon him, the said Conant, for the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Anne. The information he had of him was from one Mr. Conant, a brother of his, well known to Mr. White. . . . . But after a year's experience, the adventurers, perceiving their design not like to answer their expectations, at least to any present advantage, threw all up. . . . It must here be noted, that Mr. Roger Conant, on the foresaid occasion made the superintendant of their affairs, disliked the place, as much as the adventurers disliked the business; and therefore, in the mean while, had made some inquiry into a more commodious place near adjoining, on the

other side of a creek called Naumkeag, a little to the Westward, where was much better encouragement as to the design of a plantation than that which they had attempted upon before at Cape Anne; secretly conceiving in his mind, that in following times, (as since has fallen out,) it might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world, of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England. Wherefore that reverend person, Mr. White, (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England,) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Mr. Conant not so to desert the business; faithfully promising that if himself, with three others, (whom he knew to be honest and prudent men) viz. John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey, employed by the adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provisions, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians. Answer was returned that they would all stay, on those terms, intreating that they might be encouraged accordingly; yet it seems, before they received any return according to their desires, the three last mentioned began to recoil, and repenting of their engagement to stay at Naumkeag, for fear of the Indians, and other inconveniences, resolved rather to go all to Virginia; especially because Mr. Lyford, then minister, upon a loving invitation, was thither bound. But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superior instinct, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where they now were, yea, though all the rest should forsake him; not doubting, as he said, but, if they departed, he should soon have more company. The other three, observing his confident resolution, at last concurred with him, and soon after sent back John

Woodbury for England to procure necessaries for a plantation. But that God, who is ready to answer his people before they call, as he had filled the heart of that good man, Mr. Conant, in New England, with courage and resolution to abide fixed in his purpose, notwithstanding all opposition and persuasion he met with to the contrary, had also inclined the hearts of several others in England to be at work about the same design."

There were in fact, at this time, so many "hearts in England at work about the same design" as to cause some diversity of statement in regard to the quarter from whence the design originated. Mr. White's narrative, confirmed as it is by Hubbard, would seem to afford conclusive evidence that the first conception of the plan, and the earliest measures for its execution, were to be ascribed to himself and his associates in Dorsetshire. But Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley, in his celebrated historical letter to the Countess of Lincoln, oftener quoted, perhaps, than any other document as authority for the incidents of this period, represents the matter somewhat differently.

"Touching the plantacon which we here have begun, it fell out thus. About the year 1627 some friends being together in Lincolnesheire, fell into some discourse about New England, and the plantinge of the gospell there; and after some deliberation we imparted our reasons by l'res and messages to some in London and the west country, where it was likewise deliberately thought uppon, and at length, with often negociation, soe ripened, that, in the yeare 1628, wee procured a patent from his Matie for our planting between the Mattachusetts Bay and Charles river on the South, and the River Merimack on the North, and 3

miles on either side of those Rivers and Bay, as allso for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that same compass; and the same yeare we sent Mr. John Endicott and some with him to beginne a plantacon, and to strengthen such as he should find there, which wee sent thether from Dorchester and some places adjoining, &c." [1]

The circumstances under which Dudley wrote will explain his want of chronological accuracy, which is manifest in his placing the procurement of the charter before the sailing of Endicott.[2] He tells us that he wrote by the fire-side upon his knee for want of a table, and that he had "no leisure to review and insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must set them down as they come to memory."

Dudley's name does not appear in the transactions of the Company until October 15th, 1629, when he became at once an active and prominent member. We must understand him as merely expressing in general terms the common and mutual sentiment that existed in favor of a plantation, and as not intending to limit the word *we* to a strictly personal sense.

For the proceedings of the Dorchester associates prior to the transactions related by Mr. White the sources of information are wanting. We know not of whom the fishing company was composed, excepting that Mr. John Humphrey is named as the Treasurer,

[1] The letter was dated "March 12th, 1630," i. e. 1631. For an accurate copy see *Force's Historical Tracts*, vol. ii.

[2] The true order of dates is as follows. The territory was purchased March 19, 1628; Endicott sailed June 20th, 1628; the Charter was obtained March 4th, 1629.

and it is inferred that Mr. White was a member, while its operations were of a purely commercial nature. If we regard these individuals as representing the character of the association, we must believe it to have occupied a position of more than ordinary respectability and influence. Mr. Humphrey's elevated standing and connections will be noticed in the sequel. How many more of those who were subsequently prominent in the affairs of the colony had been among the original adventurers in the fishing trade cannot now be determined.

But few of the persons employed by these associates, in their operations of trade and plantation, are mentioned by name. Their first overseers at Cape Ann, John Tilly, and Thomas Gardener, were admitted freemen of the Massachusetts Colony ten or twelve years later; and the latter was chosen to the General Court.[1] Roger Conant, when appointed to the agency, was already in the country; and it does not appear at what time he came over.[2] He must be considered as the first planter of the new colony, and is entitled to much respect for the energy and prudence of his character. From a record of his baptism in the parish register of

[1] Tilley was cruelly massacred by the Indians on Connecticut River, in October 1636. His hands and feet were cut off, after which he lived three days. Winthrop had sent letters by him to his son the Governor of the new plantation, and describes him as "a stout man, and of great understanding." *Winthrop's Journal*, pp. 200 and 309.

[2] Mr. Felt thinks he came with Lyford in the spring of 1624. See his extended notice of Conant in the *N. E. Genealogical Register*, vol. 2, Nos. 3 and 4.

East Budleigh, in the county of Devon, it appears that in 1625 he was thirty-two years old. He was admitted a freeman of the colony in May, 1631. He was a representative from Salem in 1634, received liberal grants of land from the General Court on the ground of his being "an ancient planter," and survived to the 19th of November, 1679.

His associate, John Lyford, was a clergyman, characterized by those who sent him to Plymouth as "not the most eminent," but the choice of a portion of the adventurers in England interested in that Colony. He arrived in the spring of 1624, was at Cape Ann in 1625, sailed for Virginia in 1626, and died there not long after.

The three men who resolved to stay in the country when the plantation at Cape Ann was broken up, described as "honest and prudent," became substantial and useful citizens, and left highly respectable descendants behind them. John Woodbury, the one sent by the rest to England to procure necessaries for a plantation, is said to have come from Somersetshire. He became a freeman of the Colony in 1631, was chosen a deputy to the General Court in 1635, had lands granted to him in connection with Conant, Balch, and Palfrey, and died in 1641. John Balch is also supposed to have come from Somersetshire. He was made a freeman in 1631, and received a grant of land as before mentioned. He died in 1648, and is described as "an intelligent, exemplary, and useful citizen." Peter

Palfrey was admitted a freeman with the others, was a deputy to the General Court in 1635, and received a grant of land in 1636. He died in 1663.

Of the four original settlers at Salem,[1] Roger Conant is the only one styled *Mr.* in the record of their admission to the freedom of the Colony; a title which at that period indicated a rank or estate superior to those of a farmer or yeoman. It was in the fall of 1626, according to Prince, that Roger Conant removed from Cape Ann to Naumkeag. The correspondence with Mr. White relative to the establishment of a plantation at the latter place, and the mission of Woodbury to England, are the prominent incidents of the succeeding year. When the new colonists came over, in 1628, and the old planters found themselves superseded in their jurisdiction over the soil they had occupied, and, moreover, restricted in their personal independence by the regulations of the company, a collision of interests naturally gave rise to much controversy and bitterness of feeling. But "by the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant," the animosities were "quietly composed; that so *meum* and *tuum* should not disturb the peace of good Christians, that came so far to provide a place where to live together in Christian amity and concord."[2]

In remembrance of this adjustment of differences,

[1] To the names mentioned by Hubbard, Mr. Felt, in his history of Salem, adds those of Richard Norman and son, William Allen, and Walter Knight, as original companions of Conant at that place.

[2] *Hubbard.*

and restoration of harmony, the name of the place was changed from Naumkeag to SALEM.[1]

It is foreign from our purpose to investigate minutely the efforts of individuals, and unorganized parties of adventurers, to establish themselves on the soil of Massachusetts. Our aims are limited to the progress of that particular enterprise, and the proceedings of that particular body of men whose transactions constitute the subject of this publication. When the early history of Massachusetts comes to be written as it may be written, with all its scenes and incidents portrayed as they should be portrayed, the development of antagonistic designs and interests, and the display of diversified characters, brought into relief in their single or grouped positions, will furnish materials for a striking and peculiar picture. The proper execution of such a task, requires an imagination sufficiently lively for a vivid conception of personal characteristics, and the habits and tendencies of the age, and a taste sufficiently severe to prevent exaggeration and false coloring.

The shores of New England were sought, not only by the rigid separatists of the school of Robinson, and the more moderate dissenters who were brought together by the influence of White, but by stirring spirits of every description. Among them were spec-

[1] A fanciful interpretation was given to the Indian name Naumkeag, or Nahum Keike; as if it were also a Hebrew word or phrase, signifying "*the bosom of consolation.*" See *Felt's Hist. of Salem*, i. 7. *Planter's Plea, in Force's Tracts*, p. 8.

ulators in embryo principalities, roving bands of fortune hunters, wild revellers, and solitary recluses. Amid the stern features presented by the sober realities of a religious colonization we are struck with the occasional appearance of outré personages, and comical incidents, that seem strangely out of place: as in the grave architecture of a mediæval church we sometimes find in the sculptures the most grotesque and even licentious figures.

The attempt of Weston's undisciplined crew to form a settlement at Weymouth, and, after him, that of a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges at the same place, have already been mentioned. In a note to Mr. Savage's edition of Winthrop's Journal it is intimated that possibly some stragglers remained on the soil. But the only result of these efforts worthy to be noticed was a literary production, by one of the companions of Gorges, an Episcopal clergyman named William Morrell, who came over as a sort of Plenipotentiary from the Ecclesiastical Courts in England, and went home to write, in Latin and English, a poem descriptive of the country.[1]

In 1625, one Captain Wollaston, with about thirty companions, began a plantation in the same neighborhood; and gave the name of MOUNT WOLLASTON to the hill on or near which he fixed his habitation. Having left, himself, for Virginia, about the time that Conant

[1] See 1st *Mass. Hist. Col.* i. 125.

removed from Cape Ann to Naumkeag, this appellation was superseded for a brief period by that of *Maremount*, or *Merry-mount*, bestowed by his facetious and unruly follower, Thomas Morton.

The settlement at Mount Wollaston is believed by the editor of Winthrop's Journal, who is high authority, to have been permanent, although Gov. Dudley, in his narrative, and Hubbard, in his history, both speak of it as having "vanished away." If it was permanent, then *Quincy* is entitled to the precedency of *Salem* as the oldest of the Massachusetts Colonies.[1] It is remarkable as the scene of those transactions which contrast so ludicrously with the earnest and self-denying habits of the Puritans. The disorderly revels which they most abominated at home, where they were then common, around the time-sanctioned May-pole, were there established contemporaneously with the pious institutions those religious men were seeking with painful toil and sacrifice to render the paramount and prevailing characteristics of the country.

At about the same period, the precise date not being known, several individuals had located their solitary abodes upon the islands and peninsulas of the inner harbor of Boston. Whether they were induced by an eccentric fondness for seclusion, or by a diversity of sentiment, to separate themselves from the society of their countrymen, does not fully appear. David

[1] *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 43. It will be remembered that Plymouth was not then considered as within the bounds of Massachusetts.

Thomson was at Thomson's Island; William Blackstone, a clergyman and scholar, with his library at Shawmut (Boston); Samuel Maverick, a courteous and kind-hearted man, but strong prelatist, and therefore no friend to the doctrines of the Puritans, was at Noddle's Island (East Boston); and Thomas Walford, "the smith," at Mishawum (Charlestown.) It is conjectured that these were relics of the company brought over by Gorges, whose claims to the territory, in virtue of his patent, some of them are known to have supported; yet no special connection among themselves seems to have been observed.

Hutchinson states that he found mention made of planters at Winisimet (Chelsea) about the time of Conant's removal from Cape Ann, who, he thinks, had come from some other plantations, (*Hutch. Hist.* I. p. 16); and a few names are met with of persons whose places of residence are not known.

When it was ascertained that Thomas Morton had supplied the natives with arms and ammunition, and taught them their use, the settlers everywhere became alarmed, and the expenses of an expedition against his strong-hold at Mount Wollaston, in the spring of 1628, were shared among them. The rates are given in Governor Bradford's letter-book; and, as the Plymouth people furnished the force, and performed the service, the apportionment may exhibit the relative pecuniary resources of the rest.

"Plimouth	£2.10	Natascut (Nantasket)	£1.10
Naumkeak	1.10	Mrs. Thomson	15
Pascataquack	2.10	Blackston	12
Jeffrey & Burslem	2.00	Edward Hilton	1.00"

Pascataquack (Portsmouth, N. H.) was first settled by Thomson before he took possession of Squantum Neck, and the island near it that bears his name.[1] The Hiltons, Edward and William, were a few miles up the river, at Dover, N. H. Jeffrey and Burslem may have been the planters spoken of as being at Chelsea. The former was afterwards one of the first settlers at Ipswich, and associated with Blackstone as an agent of Gorges. Indeed, whatever attempts were then making to occupy the country around Massachusetts Bay, other than those of Plymouth and the representatives of White and his coadjutors, may be considered as connected with the claims of the Gorges family, and their confederates, to proprietorship of the land.

As the subject of adverse titles is often referred to in our volume, a few words respecting them may be introduced here. The way will then have been cleared for completing what remains to be told of the Massachusetts Company, before arriving at the period when the Records begin to speak for themselves.

As a matter of historical curiosity, it might be worth

[1] According to Prince he removed to Massachusetts Bay in the Spring of 1624. Others say 1626. He died in 1628, probably before the above assessment, which stands in the name of Mrs. Thomson. See *Farmer's ed. of Belknap's Hist.*, Preface, p. 6.

the while of some jurist, accustomed to weigh the force of legal phraseology, and the circumstances that effect a confirmation or forfeiture of grants, to analyze the patents for various portions of New England bestowed upon different parties, so far as the means of such an examination are now to be found. There are legal principles, doubtless, which governed their construction, and conspired with the operation of time and circumstance to control their final adjustment. A lucid exhibition of the relative nature and extent of these claims and their results, from their origin to their extinction, might relieve the ordinary reader from the sense of confusion their conflicting character occasions. Whether this desideratum is entirely practicable or not, the materials which exist admit of being reduced to a simpler and more comprehensible form. As represented by historians the confusion of titles is apparently inextricable. It would be agreeable to know the limits of this perplexity, and how far the rules of law, upon which those rights must depend, would serve to disentangle the knots.

We shall merely enumerate the prominent claims affecting the territory of Massachusetts, as originally bounded, which the Council of Plymouth had created before their conveyance to the company by whom it was actually settled.

The Council appear to have been singularly regardless of consistency in their grants. It is very likely they were chiefly influenced by a desire to have the

country colonized, upon any terms, rather than by the immediate pecuniary consideration of their sales; and hence were careless and unmethodical in their contracts. Their most active and enterprising members were Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the President, and Captain John Mason, the Secretary. They, too, had the best knowledge of the country, and were most engaged personally in its exploration and settlement. Gorges, then governor of Plymouth, had been intimately connected with Sir Walter Raleigh, of whose adventurous temperament he had a large share. Ever a leading spirit of the company from the beginning, it was through his exertions that their new charter of 1620 was obtained. Mason was a merchant, who became a sea officer, and had been governor of Newfoundland.

These facts are important in connection with their private claims, as showing their knowledge of the subject, their influence in the transactions of the company, and their participation in the conveyance of interests adverse to their own.[1]

In 1621, a grant was made to Mason from the Council, of all the land from the river of Naumkeag round Cape Ann to the river Merrimack, and up each of those rivers to the fountain head; then to cross from the head of one to the head of the other; with all

[1] For a summary of facts and authorities relating to Gorges and Mason, *Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire*, (Farmer's edition) vol. i., his *Am Biog.*, and *Bancroft's Hist.* vol. i. ch. 9, may be consulted.

the islands lying within three miles of the coast. This district was called MARIANA. The next year Gorges and Mason received a patent, jointly, of all the lands between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadehoc, extending back to the great lakes and river of Canada. This was called LACONIA. Thomson and the Hiltons were their agents for occupying the latter. The same year Thomas Weston procured a grant of some kind for a tract of land in Massachusetts Bay, probably around his attempted plantation at Weymouth; and an undefined patent was drawn, or ordered to be drawn, for the Earl of Warwick. In December, 1623, Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent over his son Robert with a patent from the Council, professedly bestowed on account of the father's services, and in consideration of £160 in money. This, which is given at length in Sir Ferdinando's narrative, purported to convey to the said Robert all that part of the main land, in New England, called or known by the name of "Messachusiack,"[1] lying on the northeast side of the bay, called Messachuset; together with all the shores and coasts along the sea, for ten English miles, in a straight line towards the northeast; and thirty miles into the mainland through all the breadth aforesaid; together with all the islands within three miles of said land, "except such islands as are formerly granted." David Thomson, Gent. whom we have had occasion to mention fre-

[1] Massachusetts. Gorges here makes a slight distinction between the name of the country and the name of the Bay.

quently, was authorized to take possession in the name of the Council, and deliver the same to said Robert or his representatives.[1]

The year 1623, may be regarded as the culminating period of exertion by the Plymouth Council to establish a substantial and operative dominion over their American possessions. In their conflict with nature and circumstances they seem then to have made the grand and final charge, which proving ineffectual, left them without plan or policy for future action. At the close of 1622, having complained to the king of the encroachments and injuries suffered from interlopers on their American commerce and possessions, James I. issued a proclamation, commanding that none should frequent the coasts of New England but the adventurers and planters, or traffic with the Indians, otherwise than by license of the Council of Plymouth, or according to the orders of the privy council.[2] This was followed not only by the efforts of the succeeding year to secure the beginning of local settlements, but by a general demonstration of the power and dignity of the corporation, and its authority over the soil and the seas of the country. To Captain Francis West, with the commission of Admiral, was assigned a jurisdiction over the maritime affairs of New England, and the reg-

[1] The discrepancy of statements in regard to the time of Thomson's removal to Massachusetts Bay, may be explained by supposing that in 1623 he took possession of the island that bears his name, and of Squantum Neck on the main land, for the purpose above mentioned, but did not go to reside there until 1626.

[2] *Chalmers*, vi. 1, 91. *Hazard's Col.* i. 151.

ulation of commerce; and Robert Gorges, in addition to the local rights and powers bestowed by his patent, received the appointment of Lieutenant-General and Governor of New England in behalf of the Council. Morrel, the clergyman, accompanied the latter, armed by the Ecclesiastical Courts with power to superintend the affairs of the Church. Gorges and his Council, of whom Admiral West was to be one, and the governor of Plymouth for the time being another, were authorized to do "what they should think good, in all cases, capital, criminal, civil," &c.[1]

We have seen how short-lived was Gorges's residence at Weymouth, where he endeavored to revive Weston's plantation. Prince tells us, that not finding things to answer his quality, with some who depended on him he returned to England. He adds, that some few of his people go to Virginia, and some few remain who are helped with supplies from Plymouth.[2] His companions were evidently of a class superior to an ordinary body of emigrants, and corresponding to the dignity of his mission. By seating himself at Weston's station he appears to have considered that adventurer's patent as merged in his own, although clearly not within his boundaries. If Blackstone, Maverick, and other occupants of the inner bay, or Boston harbor, may be supposed to have been of his company, there is a reason why their habitations should be chosen where they were, and the mystery attending the

[1] Prince.

[2] Prince, from Bradford.

period of their arrival, and the cause of their secluded residence, is solved. They had taken possession of the narrow territory of ten miles width along the north-easterly side of Massachusetts Bay, (whose outward limits, as then commonly regarded, were Point Alderton on one side and Nahant on the other) which was comprehended by the patent of Gorges; and naturally became his agents and representatives at a subsequent time, if we may not deem them so from the beginning.

No mention is made of a patent to Wollaston. Robert Gorges having died, his brother John succeeded to his rights, and made grants to John Oldham and Sir William Brereton, which were for a time the subject of controversy, but not considered as valid by later occupants; by whom the title of Gorges himself seems to have been equally disregarded. There are intimations of a compromise by which the incumbrance of Captain Mason's "Mariana" may have been removed from the territory.[1]

But whatever grants the Plymouth Council had made, and whatever rights had thereby been vested in other parties, the time had now arrived for a conveyance destined to be effectual and permanent. Whether the Council considered their previous deeds of little account, as dependent upon an implied condition of use and occupation, or expected to be able to adjust among themselves the private claims of their members, for reasons which must have been duly estimated by both

[1] *Hubbard's Hist.* p. 226. *Hutchinson's Collection of Papers*, p. 423.

grantor and grantees they did not hesitate to convey to the friends of Mr. White a title to the whole region between the rivers Merrimack and Charles; extending also three miles north of every part of the former, and three miles south of every part of the latter, and through the continent from ocean to ocean. The instrument was dated March 19th, 1627, which according to the new style of commencing the year on the 1st of January instead of the 25th of March, would be in 1628. The grantees named were Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Knights; Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, Gentlemen.

There is a short chapter in the narrative of Sir Ferdinando Gorges[1] which deserves to be inserted in this connection. It shows that two at least of the former patentees had been consulted and were cognizant of the transaction. It also shows the motives that influenced the purchasers of the new patent, which, with regard to the first three, are commonly misrepresented;[2] and it manifests how soon fears began to be entertained that an independent state would be the result of the enterprise.

"The King, not pleased with divers the passages of some particular persons, who in their speeches seemed to trench further on his royal prerogative than stood with his safety and honor to give way unto, suddenly

[1] "A Briefe Narration of the originall undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into the parts of America." &c. *Mass. Hist. Col.* 3d. se. vol. vi.

[2] *Hutch. Hist.* i. p. 16, often quoted, where it is said incorrectly, "as soon as a colony for religion was projected we hear no more of them."

brake off the Parliament. Whereby divers were so fearful what would follow so unaccustomed an action, some of the principal of those liberal speakers being committed to the Tower, others to other prisons — which took all hope of reformation of Church government from many not affecting Episcopal jurisdiction, nor the usual practice of the common prayers of the Church; whereof there were several sorts, though not agreeing among themselves, yet all of like dislike of those particulars. Some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Council for the affairs of New England to settle a Colony within their limits; to which it pleased the thrice-honored Lord of Warwick to write to me, then at Plymouth, to condescend that a patent might be granted to such as then sued for it. Whereupon I gave my approbation, so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to my son Robert Gorges's interests, whereof he had a patent under the seal of the Council. *Hereupon there was a grant passed as was thought reasonable:* but the same was afterwards enlarged by his Majesty, and confirmed under the great seal of England, by the authority whereof the undertakers proceeded so effectually, that in a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in troops, that at last it was specially ordered by the King's command, that none should be suffered to go without licence first had and obtained, and they to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. So that what I long before prophesied, when I could hardly get any for money to reside there, was now brought to pass in a high measure. The reason of that restraint was grounded upon the several complaints that came out of those parts, of the divers sects and schisms that were amongst them, all contemning the public government of the Ecclesiastical State. *And it was doubted that they would, in a short time, wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the Sovereign Magistrate.*"

Compared with the distinguished names and high-

sounding titles which usually head the lists of grantees in the territorial charters of this period, the six gentlemen who received the patent of Massachusetts from the Plymouth Council, enlarged and strengthened by the addition of extensive civil powers and political rights from the crown, seem to be singularly humble and obscure.

The first three, who ceased to act with the company, are almost wholly unknown to fame. They may have served, instead of Dukes and Earls, as patrons and sureties, merely lending the weight of their private responsibility to the enterprise, and retiring when their purpose was answered. The rest are indebted to subsequent events for whatever distinction is attached to their names. Very little can be gleaned of the family history and early condition of any of them.

We may imagine Sir Henry Roswell to have been a bluff and bustling knight, a colonel, and a justice of the peace, as he shared with Sir Samuel Luke the reputation of being the person against whom the author of Hudibras aimed his satirical shafts in the delineation of his hero.[1] He was, probably, a staunch and

[1] In the preface to Gray's edition of Hudibras is the following passage. "It has been suggested by a reverend and learned person, that notwithstanding Sir Samuel Luke, of Woodend, in Bedfordshire, has generally been reputed the hero of this poem, yet, from the circumstance of his being compared to Sir Samuel Luke, Part I. Cant. 1, line 906, it is scarce probable that he was intended, it being an uncommon thing to compare a person to himself; that the scene of action was in western clime, whereas Bedfordshire is *north* of London; and that he was credibly informed, by a Bencher of Gray's Inn, who had it from an acquaintance of Mr. Butler's that the person intended was Sir Henry Rosewell, of Ford Abbey, in Devonshire."

active Puritan, ready by word and deed to aid the work of reform; and using the influence of his station in suppressing some of the coarse and licentious sports of the common people. Such a one, it may be, as Macaulay had in his mind when he wrote that "the Puritans hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."[1] He is styled "Sir Henry Rosewell, of Ford Abbey, in the county of Devon;" and the possession of that ancient demesne argues somewhat in favor of the wealth and dignity of its owner. It was a Cistercian Abbey, founded in 1140; and, at the dissolution of monastic houses, was given by Henry VIII. to Sir Richard Pollard. Several families have possessed it; and it passed, by marriage with the heiress, to Francis Gwynn, Esq., in 1690, whose descendants held it in 1803.[2]

The position of Roswell, as a man of wealth, is indicated by another circumstance. In 1639, while Charles I. was on his way to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, the Privy Council made out a list of per-

It is proper to add that the editor does not attach much weight to the suggestion.

[1] Macaulay's sarcasm has not the merit of originality. It is borrowed from Hume, who makes the remark in connection with the destruction of the bears in London by Col. Hewson's regiment. "This adventure," says Hume, "seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras." *Hume's Hist.* ch. 26.

[2] Devonshire, in "*Beauties of England and Wales.*" The parish of Thorncombe, where Ford Abbey is situated, is topographically within the limits of Dorsetshire, being entirely surrounded by that county. There is a view of the Abbey in the work above named; and some curious relics, among others an ancient historical register, written by the monks, are described as belonging to it.

sons "fit for their ability to lend the king money." Some contributed; others excused themselves on the ground of previous contributions; others took no notice of the requisition. Among the latter we find the name of Sir Henry Roswell, of Devonshire.[1] These facts are all we can learn of his history.

Sir John Young, was also of Devonshire. He was returned to the Long Parliament from Plymouth, in 1640, and signed "the Solemn League and Covenant," in 1643. He was a member of Cromwell's second Parliament, in 1654, as representative of Honiton; and a member of the third Parliament, in 1656.[2]

All that can be told of Thomas Southcoat, is matter of conjecture. There was "a godly family of Southcoats" or Southcot's (the name being spelled both ways) in Devonshire, with whom Roger Clap, an early emigrant to Massachusetts, had lived; and a Captain Southcot, "a brave Low Country soldier," came over in the same vessel, and was one of the first settlers in Dorchester, but returned to England in 1631. Two persons of the name, Thomas and Richard, desired to be admitted freemen of the Colony in 1630; but one only, designated as *Captain*, took the oath, in 1631. Whether this was Thomas or Richard, and, if Thomas, whether he was the patentee, cannot be deter-

[1] *Rushworth's Hist. Collections.* Two other Devonshire Knights, Sir George Southcot, and Sir Richard Revel, are also in the list. They may have been related to members of the company having the same family names.

[2] *Hansard's Parl. Hist. Oldmixon*, i. 239.

mined. Some family connection between them, may however, be reasonably inferred.[1]

John Humphrey was a son-in-law of Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, having married his daughter Susan.[2] He was, as we have seen, treasurer of the joint adventurers engaged in the fishing trade at Cape Ann. Winthrop testifies that he was "a gentleman of special parts, of learning and activity; and a godly man, who had been one of the first beginners in the promoting of this plantation, and had labored very much therein."[3] When Winthrop was chosen Governor Humphrey was elected Deputy Governor; but did not leave England until 1632.[4] He held office in the Colony, and appears to have been respected. He lost his property, and severe calamities befell his family; and finally he left the country.

The history of John Endicott, after his connection with the Colony is well known. As Governor, under the Company, at Salem, as a military commander, and as Governor of the Colony at different periods, in all for sixteen years, he occupies a prominent place in our annals. Until recently it was supposed that nothing

[1] *Clap's Autobiography. Col. Records.* Farmer, in his Genealogical Register, supposes Thomas, the patentee, and Thomas, the applicant for admission as freeman, and the Captain, to be the same person; but his conclusion is unsupported by authority.

[2] She was one of seventeen children, eight sons and nine daughters. One daughter married the oldest son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Another was the wife of Isaac Johnson. Four of them died young. Dudley and Bradstreet had both lived in the family; which was thus intimately connected with New England. *Savage's Winth.* i. p. 34.

[3] *Journal*, vol. i. p. 332.

relating to the early portion of his life could be ascertained. As he had sat under the preaching of Skelton, he was presumed to have originated in Lincolnshire. But in a memoir written by a descendant, it is stated, (we know not upon what evidence,) that he was born in Dorchester, England, in the year 1558; and that his family was of respectable standing and moderate fortune.[1] He bears in our first records the title of Captain, and there is good reason to believe that he had been a surgeon.[2] His wife was cousin to Matthew Cradock, the Governor of the Company, and he was a brother-in-law of Roger Ludlow, subsequently distinguished in the Colony.

Simon Whetcombe continued an active member of the company at home, but did not come to New England. He held the office of Assistant, was constant in his attendance at the meetings, and was employed on many committees. Besides his subscription to the capital stock, he joined with others in a loan to the company, and was one of the purchasers of the ship Eagle, afterwards the Arbella. We may conclude, therefore, that he was a man of some substance, a respectable citizen, and a zealous Puritan: but our knowledge of him is confined to the few facts which we gather from the Records.

[1] *N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register*, Vol. i. No. 3.

[2] Mr. Felt found among the papers at the State House, Boston, a bill in Endicott's handwriting, for curing a man committed to his care, in which he styles himself "Chirurgeon."

These six gentlemen were not engaged in a speculation for their private benefit. They represented all those friends of colonization whose attention had been directed to New England by Mr. White. They were, as Gorges expresses it, "made use of" to procure a patent; and, that object being attained, such of the parties interested as were ready to participate in active measures undertook immediately the outfit of an expedition to Massachusetts Bay, the command of which was entrusted to Endicott. With about a hundred followers he sailed on the 20th of June, 1628, and arrived at Salem on the 6th of September.[1] His instructions, dated May 30th, according to a note in Hutchinson's History, vol. i. p. 16, were signed by the following persons, namely, John Venn, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, John Humphrey, Richard Perry, George Hewson, Samuel Aldersey, Thomas Stevens, Joseph Caxon, (probably *Caron*), Thomas Webb, Increase Nowell, Hugh Peters, John White, and Abraham Palmer.

If our opinion, that the first entries in the Records of the Company relate to this expedition, is correct, we have reached the point at which our preliminary narrative should terminate. There remain, however, the inquiries, — of whom did the Company at large consist?

[1] White in "the Planter's Plea," says that Endicott's men, united with those already in the country, made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons. Higginson, in his "N. E. Plantation," makes the number about one hundred. It may be safe to estimate Endicott's company, including every description of person, at about the latter number.

and what were the social positions and personal characters of its members?

No official catalogue is known to exist among our public documents. The names we find in the Records are but a partial guide, and afford no clue to the numbers omitted. That there were more than are there designated we learn from various sources. In a corporation for philanthropic purposes, or indeed for any purpose, there may be many members who neither attend the meetings nor take part in the administration of its affairs. We can therefore expect to obtain, at best, but an imperfect list; and, for want of positive information, must sometimes depend upon mere inferences, or chance allusions, in our authorities.

It is commonly asserted, that the three patentees first named sold their interest at the outset of an organization for planting a religious colony. We apprehend that an incorrect impression is conveyed by this statement, and that it has no more definite basis than conjecture. They were recognized as members by the Royal Charter, so late as March 4th, 1629, and the Records allude to no transfer of their rights. We feel bound therefore to retain them in the list, as we do others whose subscription to the stock of the company may have constituted their only connection with the enterprise.[1]

[1] According to Hubbard, p. 109, *all* of the original patentees transferred their interest in New England to a new set of associates. Prince, aware that the three named last must be excepted, says "By the Massachusett's

To proceed, as far as possible, in chronological order, we next include those who signed the instructions to Endicott. A considerable addition is furnished by a memorandum printed in the appendix to the first volume of Felt's Annals of Salem. This paper is dated "London, May, 1628," and contains a list of forty-one persons who had not paid in the amount of their subscriptions. At the bottom George Harwood, the Treasurer, is made debtor for money received from "sundrie Adventurers," a portion of the same individuals, in part payment. Others are derived from the Charter, where nineteen names are added to the original patentees. We then have recourse to "the Records" taking from them such as have not been mentioned before. A few, derived from scattered sources, will be subjoined.

Without aiming at extended biographical sketches, we shall, when able to do so, attach to each name some notes of information respecting the person, illustrative of his rank and standing in society.

Colony Charter and Records, *it seems* the three former wholly sold out their rights; the three latter retaining theirs in equal partnership with the said associates." Subsequent writers have probably accepted this statement without investigation. We can understand how such a conclusion might be deduced from the fact, that after the charter was obtained from the Crown, Roswell, Young, and Southcot, are no longer publicly concerned in the operations of the company; but for want of positive evidence are not required to admit the conclusion itself. Where the interest of a member depended on the amount of his subscription, there could be no *equality* of partnership. The finances of the company soon became embarrassed, and in order to raise money the whole stock was put into the hands of "undertakers," or trustees; so that original certificates, as we observe in similar operations at the present day, ceased to be of much value.

THE COMPANY IN ENGLAND.

Sir Henry Roswell.
Sir John Young.
Thomas Southcot.
John Humphrey.
John Endicott.
Simon Whetcomb.

Our brief account on previous pages of these original patentees need not be repeated.

John Venn,

called in the Records Captain Venn, intended to have come to New England, but changed his mind. He was Captain of the London trainbands; afterwards Colonel. He became distinguished for zealous opposition to the King and Court. He was a member, for the city, of the Long Parliament, and was one of the committee of safety empowered to sit during the recess. He led the tumult of citizens at the time of passing the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford; and was one of those whom the King required to be given up to justice as a condition of his treating with the Parliament, in 1642. He was Governor of Windsor, and one of the King's judges. Parliament voted

him £4000, as a compensation for losses. Oldmixon says he was attainted, though dead, in 1660, with forfeiture of estates, &c. for being concerned in the death of the King.[1]

Matthew Cradock.

Cradock was Governor of the Massachusetts Company, and one of its most generous benefactors. He was a wealthy London merchant, and, although he never came to Massachusetts, continued to make himself useful in its affairs, and invested much capital here in lands and houses as well as in ships; his property being managed by agents. He was a member of the Long Parliament. A claim against the Colony for £679. 6*s*. 4*d*. remained unsettled at his death. George Cradock, a descendant, was an inhabitant of Boston, in Hutchinson's time.[2]

George Harwood,

a citizen of London, and Treasurer of the Company. He is mentioned in Neal's History of the Puritans as one of the trustees, "feoffees" as they were called, who had charge of the fund raised for promoting preaching in the country, and for lectures in the several market towns of England. This was about the year 1627. They were afterwards suppressed by

[1] *Hutchinson. Pictorial Hist. of Eng. Clarendon. Tract in Hansard. Oldmixon*, i. 475.

[2] *Hutch. Hist.* i. p. 23. *Rushworth's Hist. Col. Young's Chron. of Mass.*

Archbishop Laud, "as an illicit society, formed into a body corporate, without a grant from the King, for purchasing *rectories, tithes, prebendaries*, &c." They would have been fined had it not appeared that they were already out of pocket above one thousand pounds. John White, the lawyer, and John Davenport, were also feoffees.[1]

RICHARD PERRY,

was one of the Assistants appointed by the Charter, afterwards elected to the same office by the company; and was one of the committee for auditing accounts. He never came to this country.

GEORGE HEWSON.
THOMAS HEWSON.
JOHN HEWSON.

George Hewson was one of the fourteen who signed the instructions to Endicott before his departure; but we do not find his name in the Records.

Thomas Hewson was an active member of the company, and subscribed £ for the purchase of the Arbella. There is no account of his coming to New England; but he appears to have owned a plantation near Salem in 1631. Winthrop speaks of receiving letters "by Mr. Hewson's ship," in 1630.[2]

John Hewson is mentioned but once in the Records, and may not have been a member of the company;

[1] *Neal's Puritans*, ii. 248. [2] *Felt's Salem*, i. 277. *Winthrop*, i. 276.

but, if we are not mistaken in supposing him to be the same person afterwards one of what Carlyle calls the "*Napoleon Marshals*" of Cromwell, a member of his House of Lords, and one of the judges at the trial of the King, a special interest attaches to his name. The reference in the Records is as follows: "26th February, 1628. Agreed with John Hewson to make eight pair of welt neat's leather shoes, closed on the outside with a seam; to be substantial, good over leather of the best, and two soles, the inner sole of good neat's leather, and the outer sole of tallowed backs, &c." p. 13. Now Colonel Hewson, Cromwell's right hand man for any enterprise requiring particular audacity, is thus described: "Colonel Hewson, then Sir John, now Lord Hewson, sometime an honest shoemaker or cobler in London, went out a Captain upon the account of the cause, was very zealous, fought on stoutly, and in time became a Colonel; did good service, both in England and Ireland; was made Governor of Dublin, became one of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since; a Knight also of the new stamp. The world being so well amended with him, and the sole so well stitched to the upper leather, having gotten so considerable an interest and means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the House to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House over all the gentle craft and cordewainer's company in London, if they please."[1]

[1] *Harl. Misc.* vol. iii. p. 460.

The Earl of Warwick declared he could not sit in the same assembly with him who had been a shoemaker.[1] "Yes in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along — proving himself a right good bit of stuff, thinks the Lord Protector!"[2] "At first a cobler of London, or at least a shoe-maker, one of the murderous judges of the King."[3]

We can throw no additional light upon the Hewsons, but presume they were brothers, or near connections.

Samuel Aldersey,

was appointed an Assistant by the Charter, and subsequently chosen by the company. He subscribed liberally to the loan, and also for the purchase of the Arbella, and was one of the ten undertakers to whom the management of the stock of the company was committed. He did not leave England.

Thomas Stevens,

called in the Records "an armorer in Butolph lane." He subscribed £50 to the stock, and was among the signers of the instructions to Endicott.

[1] *Pictorial Hist. of Eng.* lib. vii. ch. 1.
[2] *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 363.
[3] *Tract in Hansard's Historical Collections.*

JOSEPH CARON, OR CAXON,

was a subscriber for £50, and a signer of the instructions to Endicott.

THOMAS WEBB,

signed the instructions to Endicott, but is not named in the Records. Thomas Webb, Esq. was a member of the Long Parliament from Romney, and according to a statement in Hansard's Hist. Col. was expelled for being a monopolist in the sealing of bone lace. Another account says the majority purged their house of certain members disaffected to their proceedings, among whom was Thomas Webb.[1]

INCREASE NOWELL,

who signed the instructions to Endicott, and is named in the charter, was an Assistant from the beginning until his death. He came over with Winthrop and settled in Charlestown, where he was town clerk and selectman. He was Secretary of the Colony from 1644 to 1649, and died poor, November 1, 1655, leaving a widow and five children.[2]

HUGH PETERS.

This celebrated man signed the instructions to Endicott, and attended one or two meetings of the com-

[1] *Complete Hist. of Eng.* vol. iii. p. 98. [2] *Young's Chron. of Mass.* p. 262.

pany in England, but took no prominent part in its affairs at that time. He did not come to New England till 1635. It is unnecessary to give his history. A condensed account of him may be seen in Young's Chron. of Mass. p. 144.

John White, the Minister.

The meed of honor and gratitude due to this excellent man has never been fully awarded him. As he did not join the emigration which he promoted, he is not generally associated in our memories with the distinguished men who established the civil and political institutions we are proud to inherit. During the revolutionary struggle that soon convulsed the mother country he shared that comparative obscurity in which unobtrusive and well balanced minds are left by the prominence of bustling and reckless characters. Yet all the known circumstances of his life, and every action in which he appears to view, and, we may add, the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, mark him as one worthy to be remembered and honored. His influence with the Puritans, far and near, is said to have been greater than that of the dignitaries of the church, from which he had not then separated. The descriptive appellations attached to his name are calculated to produce impressions of respect and reverence. He is called "patriarch of Dorchester," "father of the Massachusetts Colony," "a person of great gravity and presence." He seems to

have mingled with the enterprising movements of the day just enough to guide them by his benevolent wisdom; and the quiet energy of his conduct exhibits the attributes of a philanthropist earnest without fanaticism, and seeking to exercise the invisible influence of a good genius rather than to display the authority of a leader.

He is first brought to our notice as one of the company in England who furnished money and necessaries to the pilgrims at Plymouth. They were partly commercial in their occupations, and not without hopes of gain; but described by Captain Smith as "aiming to do good and to plant religion." When the pilgrims desired to obtain from their partners at home a release of their interest in the common property, Mr. White led the way in compounding for a moderate sum upon terms easy of fulfilment.[1]

We next behold him engaged in the plan of providing moral and religious instruction for the fishermen on the coast, by means of a station at Cape Ann; with enlarged views of the great results that might follow from the establishment of a new colony.

Then came his great and successful effort for a plantation at Salem, undertaken at the very moment when losses and disappointment had overcome the resolution of his associates. It was he who encouraged Conant to remain at his post; and it was his influence that

[1] See *ante*, p. 25, note.

brought together at London the Lincolnshire men, and the men of Dorset and Devon, from whose union sprang the company of Massachusetts Bay. Leaving matters of organization and government to others, he subscribed his money, gave his advice when asked, and employed his pen in vindication of the motives of the adventurers and the expediency of colonization. Hence "the Planter's Plea."[1]

Thirteen years later we meet with him in history laboring for a union of the Scottish and English dissenters of every class, by means of the famous "Solemn League and Covenant." On the 25th of September, 1643, when both houses of Parliament, with the Assembly of Divines, met in St. Margaret's Church for the purpose of assenting to the Covenant, Philip Nye, who had assisted in negotiating the treaty, and Mr. White, led the services. Mr. White prayed more than an hour; and the importance of the occasion probably justified the length of his appeal to Heaven.[2]

The last public act of his life, which we have been able to discover, was a sermon before the House of Lords, November 26th, 1645, when he was seventy years of age. He tells us in the preface, that not only were his meditations conceived upon the bed of languishing and weakness, but, from the extremity of

[1] Dr. Young has done much to bring this tract into notice. It is not quite correct, however, to suppose it to have been unknown to our historians. Holmes refers to it by name in his Annals. Although containing much valuable information, but a small portion of it is historical.

[2] *Pictorial Hist. of Eng.* lib. vii. p. 299.

pain, he was unable to present them all in the delivery. His subject was "the Church's Reformation;" and he concludes a review of the condition of the Church with an earnest appeal to Parliament for the education of indigent scholars for the ministry, by an appropriation to be taken out of the lands of Bishops and Cathedrals.[1] So consistent and characteristic are all the incidents of his life that have been transmitted to our knowledge. He appears rather to have concealed himself behind his good works than to have sought to be made conspicuous by means of them. Still, we may believe him to have anticipated that posterity would ultimately honor his name; "*animus erigens se, posteritatem semper ita prospiciebat, quasi, quum excessisset e vitâ, tum demique victurus esset.*" Future historians may be expected to do him justice.

John White was born at Stanton St. John, in Oxfordshire, in 1575, and was educated, first at Winchester, and then at New College, Oxford. In 1605, he became rector of Trinity Parish, in Dorchester. On the breaking out of the civil wars he joined the popular party, and his house and library having been plundered by the royalists, he went to London and became minister of the Savoy Parish. In 1643 he was chosen to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, where his learning and moderation caused his judgment to be much relied on. Soon after he was appointed rector of Lambeth, in Surrey, but returned to Dorchester

[1] A copy of this sermon is in the library of the Antiquarian Society.

when the wars were over. He declined the office of warden of one of the Colleges at Oxford, in 1647, on account of his age. He died suddenly, July 24th, 1648, in his 74th year.

If our plan permitted a more extended notice we should be glad to dwell upon some of the private traits of Mr. White, and especially upon the remarkable strength of his personal influence. To the illustrations of this power already exhibited we must content ourselves with adding two brief testimonials of his gifts and merits as a parish minister. Fuller tells us, that Mr. White "absolutely commanded his own passions, and the purses of his parishioners, whom he could wind up to what height he pleased on important occasions. A good governor, by whose wisdom the town of Dorchester was much enriched; knowledge causing piety, piety industry, and industry procuring plenty unto it. A beggar was not then to be seen in the town, &c."[1] Anthony Wood says, "A neighbor of his styled him '*Pastor et minister fidelissimus, in quo præter doctrinam insignem, ingeniique vim acrem, mirum judicium, deinde et sedulitas, pietas, atque fides incredibilis, invicem certabant.*'"[2]

ABRAHAM PALMER

was a merchant, and subscribed £50 to the stock of the company. As he signed the instructions to Endicott

[1] Fuller's *Hist. of the Worthies of England.*

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxienses.* See also, notice in Young's *Chron. of Mass.*

he must have been one of the earliest members. He is supposed to have accompanied Higginson to New England in 1629. He settled in Charlestown, where he was a prominent citizen for many years, often serving as selectman and representative. In the Pequot war he went out as a sergeant, and did good service at the great swamp fight. He died at Barbadoes about 1653.[1]

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL,

an early member of the company, and one of the Assistants, was the son of Samuel Saltonstall of Halifax, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His uncle, Sir Richard, was Lord Mayor of London in 1597. He came to Massachusetts in 1630, and was one of the principal founders of Watertown. He returned to England the following year, leaving behind him his two eldest sons. He was a large proprietor of the stock of the company, and continued to take an active interest in its welfare. He was also one of the patentees of Connecticut, of which Colony his great-grandson became governor. The name has been sustained in high respectability by his descendants to the present day; among whom was the late Leverett Saltonstall, a distinguished citizen of Salem.

On the breaking out of the civil war in England Sir Richard took part with the Parliament. In 1648 he was appointed a member of the high court of jus-

[1] Frothingham's *Charlestown*, p. 32.

tice instituted for the trial of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen. He died about the year 1658, and left a legacy to Harvard College.[1]

Isaac Johnson.

This gentleman, whose wife was the celebrated Lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, was the wealthiest member of the company who came to this country. He was the son of Abraham Johnson of Clipsham, in the County of Rutland. Hutchinson says his grandfather was Robert Johnson. We may presume this person to have been the Rev. Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, who was a distinguished public benefactor in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and became the proprietor of Clipsham through his connection with the Harrington family. He founded the Oakham free school.[2] Isaac's mother was the daughter of Dr. Chadderton.[3]

Mr. Johnson's estates lay in three counties, Rutland, Northampton, and Lincoln. He had an interest of £600 in the New England adventure. He came over

[1] Young's *Chron. of Mass.* Francis's *Hist. of Watertown.*

[2] Rutlandshire in "*Beauties of England and Wales.*"

[3] Dr. Lawrence Chadderton was master of Emanuel-College, Cambridge, and one of the translators of the Bible appointed by King James. He was born in 1546, of popish parents, who disinherited him for changing his religion. He sustained a great reputation for learning and piety, and retained his faculties to the one hundred and third year of his age, having advanced to that extraordinary period at the time of his death.—*Neal's Puritans*, ii 366.

with Winthrop; and the death of his wife soon after their arrival, followed by his own a month later, is among the oft repeated incidents of our early history.

The burial ground adjoining King's Chapel, in Boston, may be considered as a monument to his memory. It was a part of his private lot; and having been deposited there at his own request, the people, whose idol he is said to have been, out of affection desired to be buried around him. It is even stated that he was the cause of the settlement of Boston, having chosen it for his own residence.[1] He had no children. He left many legacies to friends, and to pious and charitable uses. The advowson of the parish church at Clipsham was bequeathed to Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton. Some part of his substance was left to the colony, and he directed his executors to carry on his share of the company's concerns. The famous John Hampden, and his friends Winthrop and Dudley, were the Executors named in his will. His lands were given to his father and brothers. Forty years subsequently, Ezekiel Johnson, of Clipsham, was one of the prominent gentry of Rutlandshire.[2]

Richard Bellingham

is named in the charter, and is said by Edward Johnson to have aided in its procurement. He does not

[1] Prince, on the authority of Judge Sewall.

[2] Hutchinson. Young's *Chron. of Mass. Descript. of Eng. and Wales*, 1673.

appear to have attended the meetings of the company, and did not come to New England till 1634. He was a native of Boston in Lincolnshire, and was bred a lawyer. Soon after his arrival he was chosen Deputy Governor, and in 1641 was elected Governor in opposition to Winthrop. He was re-chosen in 1654, and again in 1665, and held the office during the remainder of his life. He died December 7th, 1672, the last survivor of the patentees named in the charter. He was a learned man, of incorruptible integrity, great firmness, and acknowledged piety.

Although not always harmonizing with the other magistrates, his character and motives were generally respected. His second marriage, in 1641, caused some scandal, as he persuaded a lady to become his wife who was about to be contracted to another person, and performed the ceremony himself. Having been presented for breach of order, he refused to leave the bench to answer as an offender, and escaped without censure. His sister, Mrs. Ann Hibbins, whose husband had been a merchant of note, and one of the Assistants, was executed as a witch in 1656.[1]

Nathaniel Wright

is styled "merchant" in the Records. He was an Assistant appointed by the charter, and afterwards elected by the company, of which he was an active member. He owned an eighth part of the ship Ar-

[1] Johnson's "*Wonder-working Providence.*" Allen's *Biog. Dict.*

bella, and was one of the undertakers for the management of the general stock of the company. He served on the most important committees, and constantly attended the meetings in England, but did not come over, and in the discussion respecting the transfer of the charter and government took the negative side. When the period of embarkation arrived, Sir Brian Janson was chosen Assistant in his place. He must not be confounded with Nathaniel Wright the physician, to whom Edward Hopkins, the liberal patron of education in New England, bequeathed a piece of plate in token of his respect. Dr. Nathaniel Wright was a man of eminence in his profession, and was physician to Oliver Cromwell in 1650 – 51.

Samuel Vassall.

A marble monument in honor of Samuel Vassall was sent over in 1766, by his great grandson, to be set up in King's Chapel, Boston; yet he never came to this country, and the date of his death is not ascertained. The inscription upon the monument contains many facts relating to his history which are probably correct. He was the son of John Vassall, an alderman of London, who, in 1588, fitted out, at his own expense, and commanded, two ships of war against the Spanish Armada. He was himself an alderman of the city, an eminent merchant, and a member of the Long Parliament. He was one of the first who refused to submit to the payment of tonnage and poundage: for which

his goods were seized and his person imprisoned by the Star Chamber Court. In 1641, Parliament voted him a large compensation for the damages he had thus sustained, and resolved that he should be further considered for his imprisonment and personal sufferings. He was one of those who signed the protestation to support the liberty of Parliament, and subscribed £1200 to put down the rebellion in Ireland, his name being at the head of the list. In 1646, he was one of the commissioners for the kingdom of England for the conservation of the peace with Scotland. He was also, in the same year, one of the commissioners appointed by Parliament for the plantations in America, and in that capacity signed the very peremptory order to the government of Massachusetts Bay, requiring them to permit Samuel Gorton, &c. to return to his lands at Narraganset, and to inhabit and abide there without interruption. Hansard mentions that he was seized by the army December 6th, 1648, after having voted that the king's answers to the propositions of both houses were a ground of peace. Some of his descendants settled in Jamaica, and a grand-daughter of Florentius Vassall who erected the monument above mentioned, married the late Lord Holland.[1]

THEOPHILUS EATON

was a wealthy merchant of London, and Deputy Governor of the Company of merchant adventurers that

[1] *Young's Chron. of Mass. Savage's Winthrop. Hansard's Parl. Hist.*

carried on the Baltic trade. He also served several years as representative of Charles I. at the court of Denmark. His father was a minister of Stony Stratford in Oxfordshire, where the son was born about the year 1590. He arrived in Boston, June 26, 1637, with his pastor, the Rev. John Davenport, and the next spring removed to New Haven. He was chosen Governor of that infant colony, and held the office till his death, January 7th, 1658. Hubbard says of him, "This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellencies as are usually found in any one man: he had a princely face and port, commanding respect from all others: he was a good scholar, a traveller, a great reader, of an exceeding steady and even spirit, of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, yet in his ordinary conversation of such pleasantness of behavior, and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit, as hardly can be paralleled." [1]

THOMAS GOFFE,

a merchant of London, who had been one of the adventurers connected with the settlement at New Plymouth, was appointed Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Company by the charter; an office he probably held before the act of incorporation. He never came to New England, but was owner of some of the vessels provided for Winthrop and his associates. In

[1] *Hubbard's Hist. N. E. Mather's Magnalia. Trumbull's Conn. Young's Chron. of Mass.*

the settlement of accounts hard feelings arose between them; and Winthrop not only charged him with failing to fulfil his undertaking, but threatened a suit. He wrote to Winthrop the same year that his shipping had utterly undone him.[1]

Thomas Adams

was one of the twenty-six grantees named in the charter, and was appointed an Assistant by that instrument. While the meetings of the company were held in London he was an active and efficient member, but never came to the colony. He contributed to the loan, and subscribed an eighth part for the purchase of the Arbella. In discussing the question of the transfer of the charter he was one of the four appointed to take the negative side, and was also one of the committee to draw up articles of agreement between those who were to go over, and those who intended to remain behind. During the civil war he was an Alderman of London, and a Commonwealth's man, but was opposed to some of the measures of Parliament, and to the arbitrary acts of Cromwell. In 1647, with the Mayor and two other Aldermen of the city, he was sent to the tower on a charge of treason for countenancing and abetting a tumult of the populace against the Parliament, and was subjected to a fine of £500. In 1656, he was among the members of the House of Commons excluded by Cromwell for

[1] *Savage's Winth.* i. 8, 374, 375.

refusing to sign an engagement to make no alteration in the government.[1]

John Browne.
Samuel Browne.

These persons were brothers, and are generally mentioned together in the Records. They were among the patentees under the charter, and John, the elder, was an Assistant. They were not adventurers in the joint stock, but came to New England with Higginson at their own charge, and were to have lands assigned them as if they had subscribed to the amount of £50 each. They are described as men of ability, and of standing and property. John is spoken of in the Records as experienced in the laws of the kingdom; and both were appointed members of the Colonial Council.

Their controversy with Endicott and the other magistrates, and their forcible ejection from the colony, have given them considerable prominence in our early history. For an account of this difficulty we refer the reader to pages 52, 53, and 54 of the Company's Records.

It appears, by the Records, that they were from Roxwell, in Essex; and, in Governor Bradford's statement of their case, they are said to have been the one a lawyer, the other a merchant. We have no account of their motives for abandoning these pursuits to be-

[1] *Records. Whitelocke*, p. 252. *Oldmixon*, i. pp. 328. 415.

come planters in Massachusetts. They may have been inclined to republican principles, but certainly did not at that time accord with the religious opinions of the Puritans. The latter, in the Massachusetts Colony, denied that they were Separatists; but the Brownes were not prepared even for nonconformity. It has been supposed that one or both of them returned to New England at a subsequent period. It is highly improbable, however, that they would revisit a region from which they were so summarily expelled, and the supposition has since been corrected.[1]

If they were living, at home, in the time of the Commonwealth, they were the kind of men whom we should sooner expect to find engaged in public affairs, and rising with the tide of civil commotion, than many of the original company who participated in those exciting events. A John Browne, and a Samuel Browne, are indeed mentioned as members of Parliament, and prominent actors in the transactions of that period. As we can neither assert that they were, nor that they were not the same men, we will state such facts respecting them as may serve to guide the researches of future inquirers.

John Browne was a member of the House of Commons from Dorsetshire in 1640. In 1643 he was one of the Commissioners for the general contribution tax raised by Parliament. In 1645, and subsequently, he was one of the Clerks of Parliament. An order was

[1] *Felt's Annals of Salem*, 2d ed. vol. i. p. 150.

passed allowing him £3000 as a compensation for losses. In a list of members of the Long Parliament who held places contrary to the self-denying ordinance, he is called "a petty committee-man, who seized £1000 of the stock and goods of farmer Wades," and is said to have married Sir Richard Trenchard's sister. He is named also as one of the judges at the trial of the King.[1]

Samuel Browne was a member of Parliament, and subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, in 1643.

The same year, in "the humble desires and propositions of the Parliament to the King" it is desired among other things, that Mr. Samuel Browne, and Mr. John Puleston, may be made Barons of the Exchequer. At the trial of Archbishop Laud, he managed the evidence on behalf of the Commons. In 1648, he was made a justice of the King's Bench. He was one of the Commissioners to treat with the King in the Isle of Wight. In the reign of Charles II. he was knighted and made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.[2]

[1] *Hansard's Parl. Hist. Oldmixon*, i. 224. *Orders of Parl. Walker's Hist. of Independency*, p. 58.

[2] *Oldmixon*, i. 239. *Clarendon*, vol. 3, p. 1216. *Pict. Hist. of Eng.* lib. vii. 314. *Whitelocke. Neal's Puritans*, vol. 3. p. 247.

Of the two brothers named in our Records, John has been supposed to be the lawyer, because he is called "a man experienced in the laws of the kingdom." But Gov. Bradford's form of expression would seem to imply that Samuel was the lawyer. He says, "Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant." *Records*, p. 52. At any rate he might enter upon the study after his return to England, and be in practice a dozen years later.

Thomas Hutchins.

We know nothing of this member of the company, excepting that he was an Assistant appointed by the charter, and manifested his interest in its affairs by attending the meetings, subscribing money for its objects, and serving on some of its important committees. He did not come to this country.

William Vassall

was a brother of Samuel, already noticed, and like him a patentee and Assistant named in the charter. He is supposed to have been in the fleet with Winthrop, but returned to England the same year with his family. In 1635, he came over again, and settled in Scituate, within the colony of Plymouth. He had an extensive plantation on which he resided until about 1650, when he went to Barbadoes, where he had acquired great estates, and died there in 1655. He was a man of great activity and intelligence; and is called by Winthrop "a busy and factious spirit," because he favored a petition to Parliament that the distinctions that were entertained here, both in civil and church estate might be taken away, and the colony wholly governed by the laws of England. The influential families of the same name afterwards at Cambridge and Quincy were his descendants.[1]

[1] *Mass. Hist. Col.* 2d ser. vol. 4, p. 244. *Savage's Winthrop*, ii. 261. *Deane's Scituate*, 366. *Young's Chron. of Mass.* 316.

WILLIAM PYNCHON,

an early member of the company, and an Assistant appointed by the charter. He came over with Winthrop, and settled in Roxbury; but afterwards removed to Connecticut River and founded the town of Springfield. The place was named after his English home in the county of Essex. He resided there until 1652, and was a prominent person in the colony. Being a man of some theological learning, he published in 1650, a book which was deemed to contain heretical sentiments of a dangerous nature; and the matter was taken up by the General Court. It was decreed, firstly, that a protest should be drawn against it; secondly, that it should be "sufficiently answered;" thirdly, that the author should be summoned before the Court; and fourthly, that the book should be burned by the executioner, in the market place. Finding himself involved with the authorities, Mr. Pynchon returned to England. He died at Wraysbury, in Buckinghamshire, in 1662. His son John was a prominent citizen in Massachusetts, and left many descendants.[1]

[1] The following receipt given to Mr. Pynchon for his subscription to the stock of the Company, will serve to illustrate the nature of the interest acquired by the subscribing members.

"Received, the 29th of August, 1629, of Mr. William Pincheon, the sum of twenty-five pounds, for his adventure towards London's plantation in Massachusetts Bay, in New England, in America; for which sum a division of lands and an adventure of stock is to be allotted to him, as, to every

GEORGE FOXCROFT

was an Assistant, appointed by the charter, and is the last in this list of the persons named in that instrument. He did not leave England, but generally attended the meetings there, and subscribed £50 to the stock of the company. Whether the Foxcrofts afterwards at Cambridge, in this State, were descended from him, we are unable to say; but venture to presume that some connection existed between them.

JOHN GLOVER

is called by Edward Johnson "a man strong for the truth; a plain, sincere, godly man, and of good abilities." He settled in Dorchester, and was there one of the chief men — being commander of the military company, for many years a Deputy to the General Court, and afterwards an Assistant. He died in January, 1654.[1]

FRANCIS WEBB

was an adventurer as early as May, 1628, having subscribed £50 to the stock. From a passage on the thirty-first page of the Records it would seem that he

the adventurers, proportionable to each man his underwriting, shall be concluded and agreed upon. I say received the sum of £25.

per me, GEORGE HARWOOD, *the'r.*

Mass. Hist. Col. 2d se. vol. 8, p. 228.

[1] *Johnson's Hist. of N. E.* 109. *Savage's Winth.* i. 46. *Young's Chron.* 383.

thought of setting up a mill; and in the second letter of instructions to Endicott, May 28th, 1629, he is recommended, at the request of Mr. White, the minister, for "approbation and furtherance" in setting up his saw-mill; yet we do not find his name among the freemen of the colony. He may have died before carrying his plans into operation.

Richard Tuffneale,
Joseph Offield,
Richard Davis,
William Darbie,
Daniel Hodsen,
Daniel Ballard,
Andrew Arnold,
Richard Bushord,
Richard Young,
George Waye,
Job Bradshaw,
Joseph Bradshaw,
Henry Durley.[1]

These persons had each subscribed £50 to the stock of the company as early as May, 1628, as appears by the memorandum inserted in the appendix to Felt's

[1] If we may suppose this name to be Darley, instead of Durley, it is not unlikely to be the same person referred to in Shepard's Autobiography as a son of Sir Richard Darley, of Buttercrambe, in Yorkshire, who with his brother Mr. Richard Darley offered to Shepard £20 a year, for their part, towards his support, after he had been forbidden to preach by Archbishop Laud. See *Autobiog.* of *Rev. Thomas Shepard*, p. 86, (Adams's ed.) and *Young's Chron.* p. 523.

Salem, i. 509. Tuffneale, Hodsen, Arnold, Bushord, Young, Waye, and Durley, are not mentioned in the Records.

Charles Whichcote.

Of this person we only know that he was a member of the company as early as May, 1628, and a subscriber for £50 to the stock. It is not improbable that he was a relative of Rev. Benjamin Whichcote, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, who married the widow of Matthew Cradock, and who was born at Whichcote Hall, in the parish of Stoke, in 1609, and died in 1683. There was a Col. Whichcote in Cromwell's army, who was Governor of Windsor Castle in 1649, and refused to have the Common Prayer Book used at the burial of Charles I. He said "the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used where he commanded."[1]

William Crowther,

a subscriber to the stock in May, 1628. Hew as present at the first general election of the officers of the company on the 13th of May, the day appointed by the charter, but is not mentioned afterwards. William Crowther, Esq., was a member of the House of Commons from Weebly Burrough, in 1640.[2]

[1] *Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica. Clarendon*, p. 2406.
[2] *Hansard's Parl. Hist.*

NATHANIEL MANSTREYE,

A. C.

———— ABBIE,

JOHN SMITH.

We have no information respecting the above names and initials, beyond the fact that in the memorandum of May 1628 they are credited with payments made by them as adventurers in the company's stock. John Smith may be "Mr. Smith the Accomptant," mentioned on page 65 of the Records.

SAMUEL SHARPE

was an Assistant in England, and one of Endicott's Council at Salem. He came over at the same time with Higginson, and had the charge of the ordnance, and artillery business generally, in the colony. He was also Cradock's private agent. The silver seal of the company, and a copy of the charter, were sent in his care. In case Endicott was not alive on the arrival of the ships Mr. Skelton and Mr. Sharpe were empowered to assume the government. He had been one of the associates concerned in the colony at Plymouth. He remained at Salem, where he was a ruling elder of the Church, and died in 1658.[1]

CHRISTOPHER COULSON

was chosen Assistant at the first election, May 13th,

[1] *Records. Company's Letters to Endicott,* 3 *Mass. Hist. Col.* 48. *Farmer's Gen. Register.*

1629, and was generally present at the meetings in England, but did not emigrate.

JOHN WASHBORNE,

the Secretary of the Company, by whom the Records were kept previous to May 13, 1629, when he was superseded by William Burgess. He does not appear to have been in any way connected with subsequent transactions.

SIR WILLIAM BRERETON.

The Breretons, of Brereton, in the County of Chester, are called by Camden, "a famous, ancient, and knightly family." A military spirit was hereditary in the race, and they were sometimes in high favor at Court. They have been much connected in history with the ancient city of Chester. In 1409, the Mayor of Chester was deprived of his office, and a Sir William Brereton was appointed military Governor by the arbitrary power of the King. In 1536, a Sir William Brereton, Chamberlain of Chester, was executed on suspicion of being a paramour of Ann Boleyn. Another Sir William, probably grandfather of the present subject of notice, erected a stately mansion near lake Bagmere; and, according to tradition, so strong a sympathetic connection existed between the lake and the family, that warning was always given of the approaching death of an heir of the Breretons by the

sudden appearance of logs of wood on the surface of the water, which seemingly rose from the bottom.

There is reason to believe that Sir William Brereton intended to settle in this country. He had purchased a tract of land of John Gorges; and his claims, conflicting with the rights of the company, have been already alluded to. The want of a satisfactory arrangement may have prevented his emigration. When the civil war broke out he found employment suited to his taste, and, as Major General of Cheshire, he became one of the most distinguished commanders on the side of Parliament. He was also a member of the House of Commons; and sat as one of the Judges at the trial of the King.[1]

CAPT. HENRY WALLER

was an active, and apparently influential member. He is always called Captain Waller in the Records, without any mention of his christian name.

We had almost despaired of being able to trace his history, although from his name and profession we might expect to find him among the combatants in the civil war; but, quite accidentally, we found among some ancient tracts a sermon preached at his funeral by Rev. George Hughes of London. He was buried, October 31, 1631; and his early death sufficiently accounts for the absence of any memorials respecting him in

[1] *Camden's Brit.* i. 676. *Hume's Hist. of Eng.* *Descript. of Chester*, 1847. *Hutch.* i. 23. *Vicars's England's Worthies*, pp. 71–6. *Walker's Indepen.* 2, 123.

the works or documents of the period. He is styled "the worshipful Captain Henry Waller, the worthy commander of the renowned martial band of the honorable city of London, exercising arms in the Artillery." The preacher purposely omits to notice his descent — which he says was honorable — thereby improving, as he thinks, upon the common custom of such occasions. We learn from the discourse that Captain Waller was much esteemed both in public and private relations; that he was one of the Common Council of the city; and that he was about to be proposed as its representative in Parliament.

John Davenport.

This distinguished clergyman was the son of the Mayor of Coventry, and was born in 1597. He was educated at Oxford, and became a noted preacher among the Puritans, and minister of St. Stephen's Church in London. He was a general scholar, and an impressive orator. With George Harwood, and John White, the lawyer, he was a *feoffee* appointed to buy in lay impropriations and provide preaching for destitute places. Being persecuted for non-conformity, he fled to Holland, in 1633, where he sometimes preached, and sometimes gave private instructions. When the times grew favorable for the Puritans, he returned to England. At the solicitation of John Cotton he came to this country, in 1637, accompanied by Theophilus Eaton, and Edward Hopkins; and with them laid the

foundation of the colony of New Haven, in 1638. When nearly seventy years old he removed to Boston, to succeed Mr. Wilson as pastor of the First Church, and died there in 1670.[1]

Francis Higginson.

Higginson may be regarded as virtually a member of the company in England, although probably not a stockholder. It was customary to estimate the personal services of those who intended to emigrate as equivalent to a subscription; and ministers especially, by virtue of the office, would, under such circumstances, be entitled to the rights of membership.

It was announced, at a meeting held on the 23d of March, 1629, that one Mr. Higginson of Leicester, an able minister, proffered to go to the plantation; and Mr. John Humphrey was requested to ride immediately to Leicester, and engage him, if practicable, for the "present voyage." An expedition was then nearly ready for its departure, with colonists bound to Salem. Higginson sailed on the 25th of April, and with him two other ministers, Francis Bright, and Samuel Skelton. Having kept a journal of the voyage, and written an account of the plantation as he found it on his arrival, which were published, he has been deemed the leader of the enterprise, and the expedition is usually referred to as that of *Higginson's Company*.

[1] *Allen's Biog. Dict.*

He received his education at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and became the minister of a parish in Leicester; but having become a non-conformist was ejected from his pulpit. It was under these circumstances that he proposed to come to New England. He was so popular at Leicester that after his ejection he had been maintained by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants; and the other ministers, though conformists, allowed him the use of their churches as long as they dared. But having been informed against, he was about to be summoned to London before the High Commission, when he resolved to leave the country. It is related that the messengers of the Company were mistaken for pursuivants come to drag him away, and that encouraging the deceit they addressed him in a rough manner, while surrounded by his weeping family, and presented the letters of the company as if they had been warrants for his arrest. He arrived in Salem, June 29th, 1629, and died in August of the following year, aged forty-two, leaving a wife and eight children. He is usually called the first minister of Salem. He was, in fact, the *Teacher* of the church, while Mr. Skelton was the *Pastor;* a distinction too nice to be easily defined.

Francis Bright

was from Rayleigh, in the county of Essex, but was

[1] *Records*, pp. 26–7. *Mather's Magnalia*, lib. iii. part 2, ch. i.

the son of Edward Bright of London, and was born in 1602. He was educated at Oxford, and is said to have been "some time trained up under Mr. Davenport." His engagement with the company was earlier than that of Higginson, whom he accompanied to Salem. He remained in the colony only about a year, having acted as minister to the company's servants at Charlestown. He was appointed one of the Council in the colonial government, and appears to have had the confidence of the company; but it is supposed that he was not prepared to go such lengths in non-conformity as his brethren about him, and consequently deemed it best to return to England.[1]

Samuel Skelton

was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and took his degrees in 1611 and 1615. On the authority of Cotton Mather it has been supposed that he came from Lincolnshire. When it was put to vote at Salem, between him and Higginson, which should be Pastor, and which Teacher, he was chosen Pastor; and from thence it has been inferred, without sufficient reason, that he was the oldest. He died at Salem, August 2, 1634. He is described in Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence" as "a man of a gracious speech, full of faith, and furnished by the Lord with gifts from

[1] *Young's Chron. of Mass.* 208, 316. *Records*, 80. *Frothingham's Charlestown*, 25.

above to begin this great work of his, that makes the whole earth to ring again at this present day." [1]

Thomas Walgrave.

Thomas Walgrave was one of a Committee appointed April 30, 1629, to frame the oaths of office to be taken by the Governor and his Council in New England. A letter from Winthrop to his son John, written in 1626, thus alludes to the name: "I have had some speech lately with my cousin Walgrave about matching you with his younger daughter, which I have referred to your own liking. It is a religious and worshipful family: but how the woman will like you, I know not; for she is somewhat crooked." [2] The Waldegraves, or Walgraves, have been a family of note in Norfolk and Essex.

Herbert Pelham.

William Pelham and Herbert Pelham were probably brothers, and, according to Hutchinson, were of the same family with the Duke of Newcastle. The former was earliest in New England, having applied for admission as freeman in 1630. He settled in Sudbury, where he held the offices of Representative, and Captain of the military band. Herbert came over in 1639, and settled in Cambridge. He was

[1] *Records*, p. 80. *Mather's Magn.* lib. iii. part 2, ch. ii. *Mass. Hist. Col.* iii. 67. *Johnson*, p. 22. *Young's Chron. of Mass.* 142.

[2] *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 346.

admitted freeman in 1645, and elected an Assistant the same year. He was also the first Treasurer of Harvard College. They both returned to England, where Herbert lived on his estate in Essex, and took great interest in the measures adopted for spreading the gospel among our Indians.[1]

Thomas Puliston

was a member of the company as early as May, 1629; but we know nothing of his origin or history. The Pulistons are spoken of by Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, as "an ancient and genteel family, commonly called Pilstons, in Flintshire."

William Backhouse.

William Backhouse, of Swallowfield, in Berkshire, who, in 1653, was High Sheriff of the County, may be the person of the name who is recorded as a member of the Company. A small collection of books was presented to the colonists by Mr. Backhouse; and among them was the Book of Common Prayer. This, Hutchinson says, was never made use of in any church.[2]

Robert Crane.

We obtain the baptismal name in this case from

[1] *Savage's Win.* i. 8, ii. 19. *Hutch. Hist.* i. 136. *Farmer's Reg.*

[2] Assize Sermon of Simon Ford, 1653, in A. A. S. Library. *Hutch. Hist.* i. 369.

Hubbard, who mentions him as a subscriber to the loan of June 17th, 1629, in addition to those named in the Records. He was on a committee to audit accounts at the same date. A Sir Robert Crane was a member of the Long Parliament from Sudbury, and died in 1644. He may possibly have been the same person. The dignity of knighthood was literally forced upon men of property at that period, as a means of revenue to the crown. Compulsory knighthood was abolished by Parliament in 1641.[1]

William Burgess

was chosen Secretary of the company, May 13th, 1629; and after that time, so long as the meetings were held in London, the Records are in his handwriting. He did not come to this country.

Humphrey Seale

was the beadle of the company in England, and probably remained behind at the time of the embarkation.

John Pocock

was an Assistant, chosen at the first election under the charter. He had been connected with the colonists at New Plymouth, and was doubtless influenced rather by a general interest in the cause of the persecuted

[1] *Hubbard's Hist.* 122. *Acts of Parl.* 16th Charles I. ch. 20.

Puritans, than by any personal plans or considerations. He did not leave England, but continued to be useful in the affairs of the Colony there; acting as one of a commission to answer in its behalf before Parliament, or any other Court where requisite; to receive its letters and other despatches of a public nature; to give notice of occurrences affecting its interests; and to use its seal in businesss transactions.[1]

——— Bilson.

The only mention of this name is in the record of members present at a meeting on the 21st of May, 1629. The Bilsons were chiefly located in Hampshire, and held a very respectable position at that period.[2]

Edward Cooke

is mentioned for the first time in the Records as a subscriber to the loan, June 17, 1629. He was also at the meetings in London on three other occasions.

——— Clarke

was also a subscriber to the loan of June 17th, and one of the committee on accounts; but his presence is not recorded at any other date. It is possible that he may have been William Clarke, who applied for admission as freeman of the Colony in 1630, and settled

[1] 3d *Mass. Hist. Col.* 48. *Winth.* ii. 212.
[2] *Burke's Armory. Descript. of Eng.* 1673.

in Watertown, where he was appointed constable; but is more likely to have been a citizen of London, disposed to contribute to the enterprise of colonization without being otherwise personally engaged in it.

RICHARD WHITE,
EDMUND WHITE,

were both of them subscribers to the loan, and are mentioned only on that occasion.

THOMAS ANDREWS

subscribed to the loan, and was present as a member at one other meeting. He had been previously interested in the Plymouth Colony; and was among those merchants and gentlemen of figure who sold their effects and accompanied their ministers to Holland, in 1638 — being prevented by the Order in Council from coming to New England. In 1642 he was Sheriff of London, and one of the four Treasurers appointed by Parliament to grant receipts to contributors of money and plate. In 1649 he was made Lord Mayor of the city, in place of Sir Abraham Reynardson, who had refused to proclaim the act abolishing the kingly government. The proclamation was made by Andrews in person. He was also one of the judges at the trial of the king; and was attainted, after his death, in 1660.[1]

[1] *Neal's Puritans*, ii. 344. *Clarendon*, 1164. *Pict. Hist. of Eng.* lib. 7, p. 280. *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part ii. p. 184. *Oldmixon*, i. 475.

——— Burnell

was recorded as a member at a single meeting. There was a William Burnell in Boston in 1644.[1]

John Revell

was one of those who had been connected with the colonists at Plymouth. He was chosen an Assistant of the Massachusetts company, in October, 1629; and was one of the five undertakers appointed to reside in this country for the management of the joint stock. Yet he returned home after a few weeks' visit in 1630. Winthrop speaks of borrowing money of him. Mr. Savage says he was probably too rich to adventure life and fortune with us.[2] The Revells are a family of considerable antiquity in Warwickshire.

——— Spurstow.

We cannot establish the identity of this member with any person mentioned by writers of the period. The want of a baptismal name greatly increases the difficulty of tracing such connections. From the fact that he was selected, among others, to argue the question of the legality and expediency of transferring the charter and government to America, and also to draw up articles of agreement between those who were to emigrate and such as remained behind, we may infer

[1] *Farmer.*

[2] *Winth.* i. p. 20, n. ib. 373.

that he was a person of education and intelligence qualifying him for services requiring both ability and information.

The family name was probably derived from the village of Spurstow, in Cheshire, where the Alderseys also were located.[1]

William Spurstow, Esq. was a member of Parliament from Shrewsbury in 1640. As a new writ was issued to supply his place, January 19th, 1645, he may have died about that time.[2]

Rev. William Spurstow, D. D. was an Independent clergyman, and a member of the Assembly of Divines from Hampden. He was also chaplain of the "Buckingham Green-coats," and attended Hampden in his last moments. In 1648, he was one of the Commissioners sent to treat with the king, in the Isle of Wight. Clarendon says he was very saucy, telling the king he would be damned. "With which," adds the historian, "His Majesty *was not at all disturbed.*" He was at one time Master of Katharine's Hall, Cam-

[1] If Samuel Aldersey, the Assistant, is the person referred to in a letter of Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, 3d January, 1632, as "Mr. Aldersey, the lord keeper's brother-in-law," we have a clue to his family origin. Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper, married for a second wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Aldersey, Esq. of Spurstow, in the county of Chester, "the widow of a citizen, young, lovely, rich, and of good fame." The Alderseys of Aldersey and Spurstow, in the County of Chester, where they have been seated since the conquest, were represented in 1847, by Samuel Aldersey, Esq., who, with the name, we have little doubt inherited the blood of the member of the Massachusetts Company. See *Mass. Hist. Col.* 3d se. vol. viii. p. 324. *Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, vol. ii. pp. 410, 438. *Burke's Encyc. of Heraldry.*

[2] *Hansard's Parl. Hist.*

bridge, but was turned out for refusing the *Engagement*. He survived to the Restoration, and went to kiss the king's hand.[1]

Either of the above named may have been the member of the Massachusetts Company.

—— Woodgate.

Mr. Woodgate is mentioned as present at four of the meetings in London.

Peter Milburne

was master of the Arbella, and owned one eighth of ship. Winthrop testifies to his kindness on the voyage. He did not remain in the Colony.

William Colburn.

This name is written various ways, Colbrand, Colbron, and Colborne; but is now commonly spelt as above. William Colburn is first noticed as one of the signers of the agreement to embark for New England, in case the charter and the government should be transferred. He came over with Winthrop, and was a gentleman of great influence in Boston; holding the offices of Representative, Deacon, and Ruling Elder. He died August 1, 1662.[2]

[1] *Neal*, iii. 79. *Pict. Hist.* lib. vii. p. 294. *Clarendon*, 2342, 2353. *Calamy*, ii. 471.

[2] *Records*, p. 63. *Savage's Winth.* i. 37.

—— IRONSIDE

is named as present, for the first and only time, at the meeting of August 29, 1629. In the absence of all positive information, we may conjecture him to have been Gilbert Ironside, Rector of Winterbourn, Stapleton, and Winterbourn Abbots, adjoining parishes in Dorsetshire. He wrote an answer to one of Mr. White's tracts, entitled "Ten Vows to the Parishioners of Dorchester." He was born in 1558, and died in 1671. In 1660, he became Bishop of Bristol. Wood says of him: — "Being wealthy, he was looked upon as the fittest person to enter upon that mean Bishoprick," although he had held no other dignity in the Church.[1]

OWEN ROWE

was a silk-mercer in London, and rose to considerable importance in the Commonwealth. In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* is the following account of him: — "In the beginning of the Rebellion, being a violent Covenanter, and afterwards an Independent, he was by Cromwell's interest made a prime officer (Lieutenant-Colonel, I think) in the militia of London, and became a firebrand in that city, and an enemy to its ancient civil government. In 1648, he was nominated one of the King's judges, sat on the bench when he was several times before them, stood up as consenting when sen-

[1] *Athenæ*, ii. 357.

tence was passed severing his head from his body, and at length set his hand and seal to the warrant for his execution. In 1659, he was constituted Colonel of the militia of the said city, by the Rump Parliament, and was then in great favor with them. But in the year after, when his Majesty was restored, and a proclamation was issued out for all such persons that had sat in judgment on King Charles I. to come in, he surrendered himself; so that, after his trial had passed, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and his estate confiscated. What became of him afterwards, I know not." Being in Cromwell's suite when he visited Oxford, in 1649, he received from the University the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In a letter to Winthrop, dated February 18, 1636, he expresses his desire and intention to come to Massachusetts, where he had cattle, and wished to have a farm.[1] The change of affairs in England kept back many distinguished persons, who would otherwise have come over. It is curious to conjecture what would have been the state of things here, if Cromwell, Hampden, Pym, Hazlerig, Rowe, and others of that energetic stamp, had carried into execution their plans of emigration.

John Winthrop.

It can hardly be necessary, as a matter of information, to give any account of this distinguished Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. All the prominent

[1] *Fasti*, ii. 136. *Young's Chron. of Mass.* 94.

facts of his history which could be condensed into our limited space must be very generally known; and no opportunity is afforded here for the introduction of such novel particulars as might possibly be gathered. It may, however, be desirable to the reader, for the convenience of reference, to have before him the dates of some of the principal incidents of Winthrop's life, which comparatively few persons are apt to carry in the memory.

He was born at Groton, in Suffolk, January 12, 1588.[1] His father and grandfather were lawyers, and he was educated to the same profession. At the age of eighteen he was appointed a justice of the peace. He does not appear to have been among the originators of the plan for establishing a colony in New England, or even to have joined the Company at an early period. His connection with it seems to have been coincident with the proposition to transfer the government to the Colony, and his first act was an agreement to embark, provided the transfer was effected. The agreement was signed August 26, 1629, and he was elected Governor by the Company on the 20th of October following. He had an estate of six or seven hundred pounds a

[1] In *Mather's Magnalia*, *Belknap's Biog.* and the first edition of his *Journal*, the date of his birth is stated to be *June* 12th, 1587. In *Allen's Biog.* it is called *January* 12th, 1587. January 12th, 1587, Old Style, or 1588, New Style, is undoubtedly correct; inasmuch as he is said to have been seventeen years and three months old at the time of his marriage, April 16, 1605.

year, which he converted into money; and on the 29th of March, 1630, then forty-two years old, he sailed for the new world. He arrived at Salem on the 12th of June, and soon after fixed his permanent location at Boston. The three following years he was continued, by annual election, at the head of the government; but in 1634 Mr. Dudley was chosen in his place. He was reëlected in 1637, 1638, and 1639, and in 1642, 1643, 1646, 1647, and 1648. He died on the 26th of March, 1649, leaving little inheritance to his children save an honorable name; but an invaluable legacy to his country, having kept an exact account of occurrences and transactions in the Colony to the last year of his life. His Journal, most faithfully and elaborately edited by Mr. Savage, is the corner-stone of the history of our Commonwealth.

It is a question often mooted, but easily settled, whether Winthrop or Endicott should be considered the first Governor of Massachusetts. Cradock was Governor of the *Company*, when Endicott was appointed Governor of the *Colony*, subject to the paramount authority of the Company. Winthrop was chosen Governor of the Company; but, by the transfer of the government to this country, he became also Governor of the Colony, the greater office comprehending the lesser. Endicott was as really a Governor of the Colony as Winthrop. He had his Colonial Council, was provided with a seal, and had a copy of the Charter for his

guide. Winthrop was the first in whose person the two offices were united.[1]

—— Bateman.

—— Wynche.

These names have only the prefix *Mr.* attached to them in the Records. They are recorded at but one meeting, when Mr. Bateman was appointed on a committee to dispose of certain cattle, which were kept on expense, waiting for an opportunity to send them to New England.

It is probable that both gentlemen were citizens of London, perhaps merchants, belonging to that class of men of property who were subscribers to the stock chiefly out of regard for the cause, without engaging personally in the details of its management. Bateman we suppose to be the same person who was an Alderman of the city when Thomas Andrews, one of the Company, was Lord Mayor; and united with him in proclaiming the abolition of kingly government, in May, 1649. He is alluded to in history simply as "Alderman Bateman."[2]

There was a William Bateman, who probably came over with Winthrop, and upon whose body, found dead, an inquest was held at Charlestown, in September, 1630; and a William Bateman took the freeman's

[1] *Mather's Magn.* lib. ii. ch. 4. *Belknap's Am. Biog. Allen's Biog. Dict. Note* on p. 63 of the *Records*.

[2] *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part ii. p. 185. *Oldmixon*, i. p. 372.

oath in 1631. But these are without the prefix of respect which would have been given to a member of the Company. At a later period, there were Batemans in Watertown and Concord. We have not observed the name of *Wynche* in the Colony.

Edward Forde

was a subscriber to the stock in May, 1628, but is not mentioned in the Records until October 15, 1629. We should be glad to identify him with an ingenious and scientific man of the same name, who invented a machine for raising the water of the Thames into the streets of London, and projected various mechanical improvements, as well as some schemes of a financial character. This person, who may have been the member of the Massachusetts Company, was the eldest son of Sir John Forde, Kt. He was born at Up-Park, in Sussex, about the year 1604, and became a Gentleman Commoner of Trinity College in 1621. He left before taking a degree, and it is not known how he was employed afterwards, until the beginning of the civil war, when he became High Sheriff of Sussex. He married a sister of Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, but adhered to the King, and was appointed a Colonel in his army. He received the honor of knighthood in 1643. In 1656, upon Cromwell's encouragement, and invitation of the chief citizens of London, he raised the water of the Thames into the highest streets of the city, by machines of his

own contrivance, and at his private expense. After the Restoration, he invented a way of making farthings, such as could not be counterfeited. He published some tracts on the subject of currency, and a project for bringing water from a distance into London. He died in Ireland, September 3, 1670.[1]

JAMES YOUNG

was one of the five undertakers, or managers, of the joint stock, appointed from among those who were to reside in England. Five other managers were to reside in the Colony. He was also one of the Committee chosen to draw up articles of agreement between the emigrating portion of the Company and the residue at home. He was, doubtless, a citizen of London, and probably engaged in trade.

THOMAS DUDLEY

was the son of Captain Roger Dudley, of Northampton. His father having been slain in the wars, he was left, with one sister, to the care of friends. The Earl of Northampton, and Judge Nichols, a relative by the mother's side, are said to have taken an interest in his early education. While a young man, he received a commission as Captain of a company of volunteers for the French service, in the reign of Henry IV., and was present under that monarch at the siege of Amiens.

[1] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. p. 469. *Clarendon*, 2189.

Peace being declared, he returned home, and, becoming religiously impressed, attached himself to the nonconformists. Having a good judgment, and a shrewd, practical turn of mind, he was recommended to the young Earl of Lincoln as a suitable manager of his property, which had descended to him seriously entangled with incumbrances. In this trust he was perfectly successful, and perhaps acquired there those careful and close habits in money matters, afterwards attributed to him as a fault. At the last meeting of the Company in England, on board the Arbella, he was chosen Deputy-Governor, and accompanied Winthrop to New England. In 1634 he was elected Governor, and held the office at several periods afterwards. In 1644 he was appointed the first Major-General of the Colony. He died at Roxbury, July 31, 1653, at the age of seventy-six. He was a man of strong sense and incorruptible integrity, energetic, courageous, somewhat blunt in manners and of warm passions, but sincerely pious. Beneath the characteristics of a rough and unyielding temperament, he cherished a vein of poesy hardly more smooth or flexible, and left behind him, in verse, his dying testimony against *toleration*. His daughter, the wife of Governor Bradstreet, was an authoress celebrated for her poetical talents. His son Joseph was Governor, and his grandson Paul was Chief Justice, of Massachusetts.[1]

[1] *Mather's Magn. Eliot's Biog.*

EMANUEL DOWNING

was a brother-in-law of Winthrop, having married his sister. As he was admitted to the Church in Salem, with his wife Lucy, and also took the freeman's oath, in 1638, it is to be inferred that he came over not long previous. Three of his children were in the country at an earlier date. He lived some years in Salem, and was often a representative in the General Court. Governor Bradstreet married his daughter, for a second wife. He had three sons, George, John, and Theophilus. His son George, who was one of the first graduates of Harvard College, became a man of note in England; but soiled his reputation by acts of political treachery. He received the appointment of Scoutmaster-general of the English army in Scotland; and, having gained the favor of Cromwell by his zeal and ability, was sent Ambassador to Holland. He had previously been a member of Parliament. Anticipating the Restoration, he changed sides, and became more active and zealous for the King than he had shown himself for the Commonwealth. Being made a Baronet, and continued in his office of Ambassador, he carried his treachery so far as to betray, and send over for execution, several of the regicides, whom he found in Holland; one of them an officer under whom he had served. His son, Sir George, married the eldest daughter of the Earl of Salisbury; and his grandson,

also Sir George, was the founder of Downing College, Cambridge.[1]

JOHN WHITE, THE COUNSELLOR,

was the legal adviser of the Company. If, as stated by Edward Johnson, the form and provisions of the Charter were the result of his counsel, it is not improbable that the original instrument was drawn by his hand.

It is curious to observe how frequently the name, John White, occurs in connection with transactions affecting the early settlement of our country. Captain John White was the first of Raleigh's assignees, and the governor of his colony. John White, the Minister, was the friend and partner of the Plymouth Pilgrims, and the founder of the Massachusetts Company; and to the foresight and legal skill of John White, the Counsellor, our forefathers of the Colony were perhaps indebted for the comprehensive meaning and technical force of their Charter. Other John Whites are mentioned in the Records; but not as persons of prominent standing or influence. The repetition of this name in such various relations, shows how common it must have been in England, and increases the difficulty of determining what particular person is referred to, where no other guide than the name itself is given. When a distinction is made in the Records, which is

[1] *Hutch. Hist.* i. 23, 107, 444. *Savage's Winth.* i. 49; ii. 240. *Farmer's Gen. Reg.*

not always the case, the terms *Minister* and *Counsellor* are employed.

Watt, in his *Bibliotheca*, discriminates between John White, "Counsellor of Law," whose speech concerning Episcopacy was printed in 1641, and John White, "a nonconformist lawyer, called, by way of distinction, *Century White*." This appellation was derived from a tract, which we shall presently notice.

John White, Esq., whom we suppose to have been the author of the speech concerning Episcopacy, was a member of the Long Parliament, from Rye; and was disabled, February 5th, 1643, for deserting to the King's party. He became one of Charles's parliament at Oxford.

Century White, who is generally taken to be *the Counsellor* of the Massachusett's Company, was a member of the House of Commons, from Southwark. Clarendon calls him "A grave lawyer, but notoriously disaffected to the Church." He was a very active and zealous Puritan; and chairman, first of the grand Committee of the whole House, organized November 6th, 1640, "to inquire into the scandalous immoralities of the clergy," then of a sub-committee for the same object, of which Mr. Spurstow, Mr. Cradock, and Sir William Brereton, were co-members. He was also associated with Harwood and Davenport, as a *feoffee* for buying in lay impropriations, &c. Being found thus connected with persons who had been prominent in the affairs of the Company, there is good

ground for believing him to have been a partner in the same transactions. His tract, entitled "The First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests," may be considered as in fact a report of the committee of which he was chairman. It exhibits a startling picture of clerical morals, and was to have been followed by another *Century;* but one hundred such examples were probably deemed enough to expose to the world, and the second part was never published. Mr. White served on other important committees, was a lay member of the Westminster Assembly, and a Commissioner for the general "Contribution Tax," in 1643. He died January 24th, 1644, and was buried in the Temple Church, with great funeral solemnity; the House of Commons attending in form. Whitelock describes him as an honest, learned, and faithful servant of the public. Yet his enemies represented him as raving and condemning himself in his dying hour, for undoing so many guiltless ministers.[1]

FRANCIS FLYER

was present when Winthrop was chosen Governor of the Company, October 20th, 1629, but is mentioned on no other occasion. In a description of England, printed in 1673, Francis Flyer, Esq., of Brent Pelham, is called

[1] *Johnson's Hist. of N. E.* 13. *Hansard's Catalogue of Parl. &c. Clarendon,* 307. *Order of the H. of C.* in relation to the select Committee on Religion, with a list of the Committee, London, 1640. *Oldmixon,* i. 225, 231, 245. *Neal's Puritans,* iii. 274.

one of the prominent gentry that are, or lately were, of the county of Hertford.

EDWARD ROSSITER

became an Assistant at the election of October 20, 1629. He emigrated with Winthrop, and died within a year after his arrival. Hutchinson says he was of a good family in the west of England. His son lived afterwards at Combe.[1] A grandson, who was deacon of the Church in Taunton, says, in a letter dated March 20, 1682, that his grandfather was a gentleman of good estate, and left England for the sake of religion.[2] Edward Rossiter, Esq., member of the Long Parliament from the borough of Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, afterwards Colonel of the Lincolnshire forces, and Governor of Belvoir Castle, and ultimately *Sir Edward*, may have been that son of the Assistant who remained in England.

THOMAS SHARPE

was chosen Assistant at the same time with Rossiter, and when Winthrop was elected Governor. They came over together, but Mr. Sharpe soon returned to England, having been discouraged by the death of his daughter, a lady of more than common merit, and by the destruction of his house by fire. He was one of

[1] We suppose one of the Combes in Devonshire is the place referred to; but the name, like *Stoke*, is very common in England.

[2] *Hutchinson's Hist.* i. 23. *Savage's Winth.* i. 28, 37, &c. *Hansard.*

those who were induced to embark by the transfer of the charter and government to this country. He was the sixth member of the Boston Church. The burning of his house caused an ordinance to be passed, that no man thereafter should build his chimney with *wood*.[1]

Rev. John Archer.
Rev. Philip Nye.

These ministers were admitted to the freedom of the Company by vote, on motion of Mr. White, November 25th, 1629; for the purpose, say the Records, "that their meetings might be sanctioned by the prayers of some faithful ministers here in London, whose advice would likewise be requisite on many occasions." We know little of Archer, excepting that he was Rector of All Hallows Church, in Lombard Street, and author of an elaborate tract on the personal reign of Christ on earth.[2] Philip Nye was a man of much distinction, and great personal influence. He was born "of a genteel family," in 1596, and educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He was afterwards Curate of St. Michael's Church, in London. With many other nonconformists, who were persecuted by Laud, and forbidden to come to New England, he fled into Holland, where he remained till the beginning of the Long Parliament, in 1640, when he returned, and became minister of Kimbolton,

[1] *Records*, pp. 63, 64. *Savage's Winth.* i. 48.
[2] In the *Ant. Soc. Library.*

in Huntingdonshire. His political talents and general ability were soon conspicuously manifested. He was one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, one of the *Tryers* in the Protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the Congregational Ministers at the Savoy. In 1643, he and Stephen Marshall, designated as "two clergymen of signal authority," were sent by Parliament, with Harry Vane the younger, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots.[1] The Scots required that the English Parliament should take *their* Covenant; which was complied with on the 25th of September. Both Houses, and the body of Westminster Divines and Laymen, were assembled for the purpose. After Mr. White had prayed, Mr. Nye read the Covenant, and made some observations; when all present held up their hands in token of assent, and afterwards subscribed their names. This was the famous "Solemn League and Covenant of the two kingdoms," by means of which the English and Scotch were united in their resistance to Charles. Having mingled so much in political affairs, it was debated, at the Restoration, whether Mr. Nye should not be excepted from the Act of Amnesty; and he

[1] Henry Darley was joined with Vane and Nye, in this mission. He is unquestionably the person who is called Durley in the memorandum of May, 1628, from which the names of many members have been derived. Henry Darley, and his brother Richard, were commissioners of the Contribution Tax, in 1643. Henry was one of the Council of State, in 1651. In 1656 he was secluded from Parliament, for refusing to sign the "*engagement*" to make no alteration in the government. See note on page lxxx. *Hume*, i. 261. *Oldmixon*, i. 224, 392, 415.

was pardoned only upon condition that he should neither accept nor exercise any office, ecclesiastical or civil. Still, he was accustomed to preach privately, as opportunity offered, to a congregation of Dissenters, until his death, which happened in September, 1672, at the age of seventy. He left behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth, and one who was seldom, if ever, outwitted.[1]

Nathaniel Ward.

This clergyman, whose name is seldom mentioned without some epithet, such as humorous, or witty, or eccentric, attached to it, was born at Haverhill, in Essex, about 1570. He was the son of a minister, and was educated at Cambridge, where he received the degree of A. M. in 1603. He at first engaged in the study of the law; but, while travelling in Prussia and Denmark, his attention was directed to theology. Becoming a preacher, he was settled at Standon, in Essex. In 1631 he was ordered before the Bishop, to answer for his nonconformity. He was at length forbidden to preach, and in April, 1634, embarked for New England. For a brief period he was pastor of the Church at Ipswich, then called Agawam; but was released, at his own request, in 1636. He must have had some reputation for legal learning and experience, as he was appointed by the General Court, in 1638,

[1] *Wood's Athenæ* and *Fasti Oxonienses*. *Neal's Puritans*, v. 20. *Pict. Hist.* lib. viii. p. 299.

on a committee to draw up a system of laws for the consideration of the freemen; and received a grant of six hundred acres of land for his service. His code of laws, or "Body of Liberties," was ordered to be transcribed in 1641, and a copy sent to the several towns of the Colony. In 1647 he returned to England, and soon after published the work by which he is best known, called "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," designed to exert a political influence in a humorous guise. He resumed the ministry at Shenfield, near Brentwood, in Essex; where he died, in 1653, in his eighty-third year. He is to be remembered as the compiler of the first code of laws established in New England.[1]

Roger Ludlow.

Roger Ludlow was chosen an Assistant at the last meeting of the Company in London, held at Mr. Goffe's house, February 10th, 1630. He was brother-in-law to Endicott, and is said to have come from the west of England; but the place of his birth is not stated. He came to this country with Rossiter, and was one of the first settlers in Dorchester. In 1634 he succeeded Dudley, as Deputy-Governor; but, having

[1] *Mather's Magnalia. Eliot's Biog. Allen's Biog. Dict. Young's Chron. of Mass.* A very neat edition of the Simple Cobbler, with a notice of the author, was published in 1843, by Mr. David Pulsifer, to whom we are indebted for our transcript of the *Records*. An interesting account of the Body of Liberties, by F. C. Gray, LL. D., will be found in *Mass. Hist. Col.* 3d se. vol. viii.

aimed at the higher office to which Dudley was elected, he made complaints that rendered him unpopular, and he was left out of the magistracy the following year. On this account, he removed to Connecticut, and founded the town of Windsor. For nineteen years he was one of the most prominent men in that Colony. He was actively engaged in the Pequot war. In 1648, and subsequently, he was one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies; and when, in 1653, a portion of them were disposed to engage in a war with the Dutch on their western frontier, notwithstanding the dissent of Massachusetts, with his usual impetuosity he stimulated the inhabitants of Fairfield, where he then resided, to commence hostilities, and accepted the appointment of commander. But the magistrates of the Colony interfered, to prevent the raising of volunteers; and, in consequence of difficulties growing out of that transaction, he embarked with his family for Virginia, in the spring of 1654. The time and place of his death are not known. He is described as of a passionate temperament and aspiring disposition, but distinguished for his knowledge of the law and the rights of mankind, and as having rendered essential services to the Colony. He compiled the first Connecticut Code of Laws, adopted in 1649. An account of him may be found in Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries, and in Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

Sir Brian Janson.

When the colonists were on the point of embarkation, at Southampton, finding that some of the Assistants had concluded to remain behind, it was voted, that Sir Brian Janson, Knight, Mr. William Coddington, and Mr. Simon Bradstreet, gentlemen, should be Assistants, in the places of Mr. Nathaniel Wright, merchant, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and Mr. Thomas Goffe, of London, merchants. Yet, notwithstanding Sir Brian Janson accepted the appointment, and was sworn into office, either his heart failed him, or his zeal cooled, since he never came to New England. All we know of him is derived from a letter of Winthrop to his son John, written on board the Arbella, March 22, 1630, in which he says:—"There is newly come into our Company, and sworn Assistant, one Sir Brian Janson, of London, a man of good estate, and so affected with our society, as he hath given £50 to our common stock, and £50 to the joint stock. He desires to be acquainted with you."[1]

William Coddington,

called the Father of Rhode Island, was a native of Boston, in Lincolnshire. Having been chosen Assistant, as above stated, he came over in the Arbella, and became a principal merchant at Boston, where he built the first brick house. He was for some time Treasurer

[1] *Winthrop*, vol. i. Append. 367.

of the Colony, and much engaged in public affairs. In 1637, during the controversy respecting Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, which resulted in their banishment, he took sides in their favor, with Vane and Cotton, and against Winthrop and Dudley. This occasioned his being left out of the magistracy; and the next year he removed to Rhode Island, where he was chosen Governor, and held the office until the incorporation of the Providence Plantations. In 1651, he assisted in compiling a body of laws for that Colony; and, at a later period, again accepted the chief magistracy, in which station he died, November 1st, 1678, aged seventy-eight.[1]

Simon Bradstreet

was the son of a nonconformist minister, at Horbling, in Lincolnshire, and was born in March, 1603; being, consequently, just twenty-seven years old when chosen Assistant, in March, 1630. His father died when he was quite young, and he was taken into the religious family of the Earl of Lincoln, where he continued eight years, under the direction of Thomas Dudley, — a part of the time in the capacity of steward. He was, for a time, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. Afterwards, he served as steward for the Countess of Warwick. There he married Ann Dudley, the poetess, daughter of Thomas, she being but sixteen years old. He held, at various periods of his

[1] *Callender's Hist. Discourse.* *Eliot's* and *Allen's Biog. Dict's.*

life, many important offices in the Colony; having been Assistant, Secretary, Commissioner of the United Colonies, Agent and Messenger of the Colonies to England, Deputy Governor, and Governor. He lived to the age of ninety-four; and died at Salem, March 27th, 1697, "the Nestor of New England." By his first wife he had eight children; and, after her death, he married a daughter of Emanuel Downing.

WILLIAM HUBBARD.

—— WADE.

We have only the authority of Hubbard, the historian, for adding these names to the list of the Company in England. We quote the passage, as it professes to give some information respecting the pecuniary resources of the Company, and the original amount of its capital. In chapter 22d, p. 121, of his history, having described the organization under the Charter, he says: — "There were, besides the forementioned gentlemen that were chosen Assistants, twenty or thirty others, who subscribed the sum of £1035, to be as a common stock, to carry on the Plantation; and June 17th, 1629, £745 more were lent on the same account, by several other gentlemen, the most of which ventured but their £25 a-piece. Some few advanced £50; as Mr. S. Vassall, Mr. Young, *Mr. William Hubbard*, Mr. Robert Crane, *Mr. Wade*, and many others; and two or three more, namely, Mr. Aldersey added

£75, Mr. S. Whetcomb £85, the Governor £100. From so small beginnings sprung up that hopeful Plantation." We apprehend that this statement is as incorrect in fact, as it is clumsy in expression. By referring to the Records, p. 44, where the proceedings of June 17th will be found, it will be seen that the sum to be raised was £1500, and that £745 were subscribed on the spot, while the Secretary was deputed to call on others of the Company, who were absent. Of the persons named above by Hubbard, only the Governor, Mr. Aldersey, and Mr. Whetcomb, were present. The first subscribed £150, Aldersey £50, and Whetcomb £25. The sum obtained at the meeting, with the additional subscriptions named by Hubbard, would make £1080. In this estimate, we take the Governor's subscription as stated in the Records, adding £25 to Aldersey's, and £60 to Whetcomb's. Hubbard's statement of the amount of the common stock is not more accurate. By the memorandum of May, 1628 — from which we have derived the names of many of the members not otherwise mentioned — it appears that there was then due, from subscribers to *the stock*, the sum of £2150. How much had already been paid we do not know, nor the amount of subsequent subscriptions, which must have been considerable.

Still, in regard to the names, for which we were led to notice this passage, the historian is probably correct.

CHARLES FINES.

GEORGE PHILLIPS.

The final meeting of the Company in England was held on board the Arbella, March 23, 1630. On the 29th, the emigrants were riding at anchor at Cowes, where they were visited by their friends. Leaving that station, they anchored again over against Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, where they remained until the 8th of April. On the 7th, a document was signed, addressed to their brethren of the Church of England, "for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions, and misconstructions of their intentions." It was called "The Humble Request of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and Company lately gone for New England." Probably most of the names of the emigrating portion of the Company were attached to it; although in the printed copy but seven are preserved. Two of these, Charles Fines, or Fiennes, and George Phillips, there appear for the first time. Fines changed his mind at the last moment, and did not come to this country. In the old patent of Connecticut, of which he was a grantee, he is designated as the Hon. Charles Fiennes, Esq. Fiennes was the family name of the Viscounts Say and Sele; and by two marriages, at different periods, it was introduced into the family of the Earls of Lincoln. Theophilus, then Earl of Lincoln, had a brother

Charles. The person referred to above may have been the same, or he may have been a younger brother of Viscount Say and Sele. The Viscount was leader of the Puritan party of the House of Lords, and his son Nathaniel was one of the prime movers of opposition in the House of Commons; according to Clarendon, "a great manager of the most secret designs from the beginning," one who was "*for root and branch*"; a radical phrase among those who sought an entire revolution of the government.

Rev. George Phillips was born at Raynham, in the county of Norfolk, and was educated at Cambridge. He was settled in the ministry at Boxted, in Essex or Suffolk;[1] but being persecuted for nonconformity, was induced to join the colonists who sailed with Winthrop. He was the first minister of Watertown, Mass., and died there in 1644. His knowledge of the original languages of Scripture is said to have been extensive, and he was considered an able controversial writer. From him have descended the many respectable persons of the name residing in and around Boston.[2]

[1] There is a singular confusion of statement respecting the place of Mr. Phillips' ministry, whether it was Boxford or Boxted; and if Boxted, whether it was in Suffolk, or Essex. Mather makes it Boxford in Essex; Hubbard Boxted in Essex; and Dr. Francis, Boxted in Suffolk. There is a Boxford in Suffolk, but none in Essex. There is a Boxted in each of the two counties. The place of his birth we suppose to be Raynham, instead of *Raymond*, as Mather has it.

[2] *Mather's Magnalia*, lib. iii. ch. iv. *Francis's Hist. of Watertown*, 33 – 6.

NICHOLAS WEST,
KELLAM BROWNE.

These persons were among those who, on the 29th of August, 1629, signed an agreement to embark for New England; but they never came over, and nothing is known concerning them.

WE have thus endeavored to bring together the names of persons composing the Company of Massachusetts Bay, as it existed in England. We are conscious that any list formed at the present day must be imperfect. There were often present at the meetings individuals, who are simply referred to as "the generality." Of how large a number this *generality*, or body of the Company, consisted, it is impossible to determine. Our catalogue contains, doubtless, the greater proportion of members, and all who were at all prominent or influential. It is made up of the original patentees, the signers of the instructions to Endicott, the grantees designated in the Charter, the subscribers to the stock, enumerated in the memorandum of May, 1628, and persons mentioned in the Records in a way to indicate their membership; these last being arranged, for the most part, according to

the dates of their first appearance in that document. A few names have been gathered from other sources.

Whether we consider the private history or the combined proceedings of this association, we are constrained to pronounce it a remarkable body of men. Purity of motive, greatness of purpose, boldness of action, and policy of conduct, have seldom been so equally united. There were among them men of culture, — in some cases, to the extent of profound learning; men of business talent, manifested by successful enterprise; men of philanthropic zeal, and men of far-reaching political designs. To call them *pious* men, seeking to provide a refuge from religious persecution, expresses but a portion of the motives by which they were actuated. The idea of civil liberty was inseparably connected with that of religious freedom, in the conception and in the execution of their plans.

The remark of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, that "It was doubted they would in a short time wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the Sovereign Magistrate," shows how early their aspirations for an independent and popular government were manifested. The exceedingly liberal charter granted them by the King, is attributed to his desire to get them out of the way; as a fear of the republican tendencies of their growing Colony was his motive for prohibiting emigration afterwards, when a free outlet for discontented spirits might have saved his throne. But the little cloud, no

bigger than a man's hand, was suffered to gather and spread, until it broke over his kingdom.

The important consequences resulting from the political principles of the emigrants to Massachusetts, have been fully recognized and clearly exhibited, with respect to this country, by both British and American writers.[1] Yet the influences emanating from that portion of the Company which remained in England, have not been investigated as they deserve to be. The part taken by them in the Revolution of 1640, has been mixed up with the movements of the general body of Puritans, and not viewed by itself, as a just appreciation of its nature and extent requires. We know not how nearly true it may prove, that this little band, and its immediate friends, were the leaven that affected the whole mass of the community; and that the establishment of a liberal government in New England was but one of the consequences of its organization.

After the transfer of the Charter to Massachusetts, the transactions of the Company appear to have been merged in those of the Colony; yet a company organization must have been maintained, subsequently, for certain purposes. There had been appointed ten undertakers, or managers of the common stock, five of whom were to reside in England; and the corporate affairs continued unsettled for many years. So late as 1638, George Harwood, the treasurer in England, was called upon by the General Court to render his ac-

[1] See, for example, *Robertson's America*, lib. x.

count. Thus mutual interests must have served as a bond of union among the original members of the Company, long after it was apparently dissolved by the surrender of its constitution to the Colony.

The fortunes of the colonists have so exclusively attracted the attention of historians, that their former associates have been left in comparative obscurity. It is due to the merit and services of these associates, that they should be rescued from undeserved neglect. We are sanguine in the belief, that a diligent inquirer in England, suitably prepared with data for the direction of his investigations, might accumulate materials for a complete and most interesting memorial. We shall close our own condensed narration, by recurring to some of the circumstances already brought to view, which may indicate the kind and degree of interest an elaborate history of the Massachusetts Company would be likely to possess.

The amount of political influence that can be traced directly to members of the Company, is a fact of striking significance, and leads to an inference of combined action, as well as community of sentiment. The town of Dorchester, where the Company had its origin, has been described as one of the earliest positions fortified against Charles I. — as "particularly disaffected to the royal cause, more so than any place in England;" and as "the *magazine* whence the other places were supplied with the principles of rebellion."[1]

[1] See *ante*, p. xxii.

When the adventurers from the two counties of Dorset and Lincoln had united to establish their head-quarters at London, they were joined by many of the most prominent and wealthy citizens, as well as by men of standing from most of the country shires. Clarendon says of London, that it was "the sink of all the ill humor in the kingdom;" meaning, that the revolutionary tendencies existing in the kingdom were there concentrated and strengthened. If Parliament never became, like the National Assembly of France, the servant of the populace, it was often impelled by the popular voice of the city, while it was sustained by its physical strength and pecuniary resources. When we find in our Company the wealthy merchants, the commanders of the military bands, and the chief municipal officers, we may form some estimate of the amount of public sentiment they would be likely to control. Samuel Vassall was one of the first to resist the payment of illegal taxes. Hampden's case was only more conspicuous from having been selected for trial by the King's Council; an honor that Lord Say made great efforts to secure to himself.[1] John Venn, commander of the train-bands, led the six thousand citizens who surrounded the House of Peers during the trial of Strafford, and shouted "*Justice! Justice!*" Thomas Andrews, the Lord Mayor, assisted by Alderman Bateman, and others, proclaimed the abolition of kingly government; his predecessor having declined to per-

[1] *Clarendon*, 286.

form that office. We refer to these cases now, merely to exemplify the character and position of the London members. Owen Rowe, "that fire-brand of the city," and John Hewson, the bold shoemaker, might be adduced for the same purpose. Not only the corporate authorities and organized bodies, but the masses of the metropolis, must have had great weight in the affairs of the period; and many of the most active agitators in the various classes of society were connected with the Massachusetts Company.

We find equal evidence of influence in Parliament. Many of the Company were members of the Long Parliament. Their particular friends were its acknowledged leaders in both houses. Among the Peers, Viscount Say and Sele, the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Mandeville, son-in-law to Warwick, are specially designated by Clarendon, as chief managers. The intimate connection of the two former with New England is well known. If not members of the Company, as they may have been, they were patentees under other grants, and personally concerned in the colonization of the country.[1] In the House of Commons, Pym, Hampden, Harry Vane, and Nathaniel Fiennes, were principal leaders. Vane had been Governor of Massachusetts; Fiennes was the son of Lord Say and Sele. Clarendon states, that Pym, Hampden, and St. John,

[1] The Earl of Warwick succeeded Gorges, as President of the Council established at Plymouth. He surrendered his private patent to the Massachusetts Company. Viscount Say and Sele, John Hampden, Pym, and others, were patentees of Connecticut.

with the three lords mentioned above, "were of the most intimate and entire trust with each other, and made the engine which moved all the rest;" and that Vane and Fiennes were admitted into their full confidence.[1] With these leaders, the members of the Company must have had the closest relations; and hence, perhaps, their selection for many responsible duties. The Committee on Religion was considered the most important committee of Parliament. By its agency, the ecclesiastical system of the kingdom was attacked, and those measures conceived and matured, that were to operate on the religious enthusiasm of the people. Of this, John White, the Counsellor, was chairman; and Cradock, Brereton, and Spurstow, were members.

In 1643, the fortunes of Charles appeared to be in the ascendant. His troops were victorious, and his opponents were weakened by disunion. The Scotch and English Presbyterians hated the Independents, almost as much as they hated Episcopacy; much more than they disliked Monarchy. A combination of sagacity and decision might, as it seemed, have easily re-established the authority of the King; but the sagacity and decision were on the other side. In that crisis of affairs, Parliament sent commissioners to Scotland, with ample powers to treat for a nearer union and confederacy. These were the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Harry Vane, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley; attended by Philip Nye, and Stephen

[1] *Hist. of Reb.* 291.

Marshall, whose daughter Nye had married. It was, however, upon the diplomatic subtlety of Vane, and the great shrewdness of Nye, who was "seldom, if ever, outwitted," that Parliament depended for the success of the mission. When it was ascertained that no conciliation could be effected without an adoption of the Scottish Covenant, Sir Harry Vane contrived to render the bitter alternative more palatable to the English, by inserting phraseology which admitted of double construction. By this means the two houses of Parliament, and the Westminster Assembly of Divines and Laymen, were induced to meet, for the purpose of signifying their concurrence. At this point, we find John White, the Minister, and Philip Nye, combining their efforts to smooth the way for a disagreeable act of necessity. Mr. White's prayer, an hour in length, and Mr. Nye's introductory speech, are all the ceremonies noticed, before taking the question on a measure that manifestly turned the dubious scale against the King.[1]

It is only to the most prominent instances of parliamentary influence, on the part of members of the Massachusetts Company, that we propose to refer. Their names are found in the Committee of Safety, that sat during the recess; among the treasurers appointed to

[1] Mr. Nye's Speech was printed, and is entitled, "An Exhortation to the Taking of the Solemn League and Covenant." Another of his tracts bears this title: "The Excellency and Lawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant; in a Speech to the House of Commons," 1643. From which it appears, that he had previously advocated the measure in Parliament.

receive into their custody the contributions and other resources raised for the support of the war; among the keepers of the Great Seal of Parliament; and in the Committees selected to treat with the King.

We may believe the influence of our Company among the military to have been by no means inconsiderable; since Brereton and Hewson were major-generals, and Venn, Rowe, and others, were officers of rank in the service.

But it is among the clergy, and in the affairs of religion, that we should naturally expect to find the principles of these men most influentially manifested. In the Assembly of Divines, whose session, contemporaneous with that of Parliament, may be considered as its aid and adjunct, the venerable patriarch of Dorchester was one of those most relied on for counsel; while, in the pulpits of the metropolis, Hugh Peters thundered out his denunciations of royalty and its adherents,[1] for which he paid dearly, with his head, at the Restoration.

All these varied agencies, earnestly and effectively working out a revolution in the government, intended to vindicate the rights and secure the freedom of the people, were consummated by the trial and execution

1 "The following was a favorite text among the enthusiasts of that age: 'Let the high praises of God be in the mouths of his saints, and a twofold sword in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen and punishment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgments written: This honor have all his saints.' Ps. cxlix. v. 6, 7, 8, 9. Hugh Peters, the mad chaplain of Cromwell, preached frequently on this text." — *Hume*, ch. lix.

of the King; and, in the High Court of Justice appointed for his trial, were five or six of the Massachusetts Company. The Lord Mayor of London, selected for the purpose of first proclaiming the act abolishing kingly government, was, as before stated, one of the Company; and the Governor of Windsor Castle, (Col. Whichcot,) who presided at his burial, and forbade the use of the Common Prayer Book, may have been a member also.

Although the transactions, in which the members of the Company took so active a part, may be condemned by many, as the fruits of enthusiasm carried to an unwarrantable excess, yet we believe a careful examination would prove their acts to have been dictated by a high and consistent purpose; and their zeal even to have been tempered with moderation, though seldom checked by fear of consequences. Constitutional liberty was the end they had in view. They were prepared to go to any lengths for gaining that object; but they did not generally fall into the error of creating a new despotism on the ruins of an old one. They were by no means favorably disposed to the usurpations of Cromwell; though they may have perceived the temporary necessity of placing the reins of government in a strong hand.

Among the judges at the King's trial, John Venn, Owen Rowe, and John Hewson, were in favor of extreme measures; but Sir William Brereton, John Browne, and Richard Darley, (Henry's brother,) de-

clined acting; and Thomas Andrews refused to sign the death warrant.

When Cromwell manifested a disposition to rule by military, instead of constitutional authority, he came near being treated as Charles had been before him; but was upheld by native ability, as well as by contingent circumstances. Sir Harry Vane was a thorn in his side, losing no opportunity to remind him that he was not keeping good faith with the people. Samuel Vassall, although one of the first to resist the authority of Charles, was seized, in 1648, by the army, for voting that the King's answers to the propositions of Parliament were a ground for peace. As John Venn had led a tumult of citizens, at the trial of Strafford, to enforce his condemnation, so, in 1647, Thomas Adams, then Alderman of London, assisted in raising the citizens against certain measures of Parliament, and was sent to the Tower. At a later period, Adams was excluded from Parliament by Cromwell, when Hazlerig and other staunch republicans were ejected as unmanageable. Generally, however, the friends of a constitutional and popular government were reduced to the necessity of silence or acquiescence, by the want of power to withstand the usual reactive tendencies of a revolution. They could only refuse to sign the *engagement* not to disturb his government, which Cromwell exacted as a qualification for office; a course adopted by many republicans, who thus materially diminished their means of influence.

Our limits will not allow us to trace the political influence of members of the Massachusetts Company, even to the extent that our imperfect investigations would admit. It is, in our judgment, justifiable and proper, to regard that influence as a unity, emanating from them as a body; and when we reflect upon the proportion which that body, of little more than a hundred men, reduced by emigration to a much smaller number, bears to the whole intelligent population of the kingdom, or even to the whole Puritan party, we shall be struck with the relative proportion of important positions they filled, and the magnitude of the parts they sustained, in the great events of their time. The lessons of popular resistance to oppression, which they taught, have never been forgotten. Not the resistance of brute force, save as a secondary means, but of mind — of the moral and intellectual power native to man, against the power of prerogative and the prestiges of rank and station. Their example has sometimes been abused, to evil ends; but its tendency is to improve the condition and elevate the character of the human race. When the orators of our own Republic, in dwelling upon the blessings of freedom, speak of *our Revolutionary Sires*, and *the Cradle where Liberty was rocked*, we may, without impropriety, carry our thoughts back to an older generation and an earlier birth, than those of 1776; or blend those epochs that, under different circumstances, have been marked by the same ancestral spirit.

It is a just remark of the author of the Life of Sir Harry Vane, "that the history of the Long Parliament has never yet been written."[1] This Parliament has been characterized as comprising "a set of the greatest geniuses for government, that the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause."[2] The study of private life and the details of personal history, which is beginning to distinguish the historical productions of the present age, can alone develop the real nature and guiding principles of that remarkable assembly. In such a study, no small share of attention will be due to the men, under whose auspices and by whose agency the Colony of Massachusetts was founded.

It is equally true, that the history of Massachusetts remains to be written. What extreme of our united nation is there, that has not an interest in its history? For, where have not the descendants of its primitive settlers carried the moral and political principles they inherited? The "genius for government" of its founders must be traced in the records of their legislation, and the elements of its public character be deduced from an analysis of the characters of its prominent citizens.

Over a portion of these subjects of investigation, time has already thrown a shadow sufficiently dense,

[1] *Life of Sir Henry Vane*, by Charles Wentworth Upham. *Sparks's American Biography*, vol. 4.

[2] *Warburton.*

to demand the scrutinizing optics of the antiquary This portion our Society has adopted, as affording a field of antiquarian labor not less legitimate than the surveys of aboriginal mounds, or a comparison of native American dialects. But the volume, which it is now sought to render accessible and familiar to the community, is only the commencement of a public service that should be continued and extended; and to the Commonwealth itself appropriately belongs the care of preserving, in a permanent and intelligible form, the documents that lie at the foundation of its government, and constitute the basis of its history.

An Alphabetical Catalogue of the Company is subjoined, for the convenience of reference:

—— Abrie,
—— A. C.,
Thomas Adams,
Samuel Aldersey,
Thomas Andrews,
John Archer,
Andrew Arnold,
—— Backhouse,
Daniel Ballard,
—— Bateman,
Richard Bellingham,
—— Bilson,
Job Bradshawe,
Joseph Bradshawe,
Simon Bradstreet,
Sir William Brereton,
Francis Bright,
John Browne,
Samuel Browne,
Kellam Browne,
William Burgess,
—— Burnell,
Richard Bushord,
Joseph Caron,
—— Clarke,
William Coddington,
William Colbron,
Edward Cooke,

Christopher Coulson,
Matthew Cradock,
Robert Crane,
William Crowther,
William Darby,
Henry Darley,
John Davenport,[1]
Richard Davis,
Emanuel Downing,
Thomas Dudley,
Theophilus Eaton,
John Endicott,
Charles Fines,
Francis Flyer,
Edward Forde,
George Foxcroft,
John Glover,
Thomas Goffe,
George Harwood,
George Hewson,
John Hewson,
Thomas Hewson,
Francis Higginson,
Daniel Hodsen,
William Hubbard,
John Humphrey,
Thomas Hutchins,
—— Ironside,
Sir Brian Janson,
Isaac Johnson,
Roger Ludlowe,
Nathaniel Manstreye,
Peter Milburne,
Increase Nowell,
Philip Nye,
Joseph Offield,
Abraham Palmer,
Richard Perry,
Hugh Peters,
George Phillips,
John Pocock,
Thomas Puliston,
William Pynchon,
John Revell,
Edward Rossiter,
Sir Henry Roswell,
Owen Rowe,
Sir Richard Saltonstall,
Humphrey Seale,
Samuel Sharpe,
Thomas Sharpe,
Samuel Skelton,
John Smith,
Thomas Southcot,
—— Spurstow,[1]
Thomas Stevens,

[1] While this sheet is passing through the press, we have found, among the pamphlets in the Library of the Antiquarian Society, a black-letter

Richard Tuffneale,
Samuel Vassall,
William Vassall,
John Venn,
—— Wade,
—— Walgrave,
Henry Waller,
Nathaniel Ward,
John Washborne,
George Waye,
Francis Webb,
Thomas Webb,
Nicholas West,
John Winthrop,
Simon Whetcomb,
Charles Whichcote,
Edmund White,
John White, *The Minister*,
John White, *The Counsellor*,
Richard White,
—— Woodgate,
Nathaniel Wright,
—— Wynche,
James Young,
Sir John Young,
Richard Young.

copy of "The Thirty-nine Articles," with the following attestation indorsed upon it: "*Novemb. 7th*, 1628.

"John Davenport, Clerk, Vicar of St. Stephens, in Coleman Street, London, did, this day above written, being Sunday, publiquely read this booke of Articles herein contayned, being in number 39 besides ye the ratificacon, and declared his full and unfeigned assent and consent thereunto, in the tyme of Morning Prayer, next after the Second Lesson, before the whole Congregacon. As also the sayd John did, the same day, administer the Holy Communion in the sayd parish, in his surplis, according to ye order prescribed by ye Church of England; in ye presence of these whose names are here underwritten.

Churchwardens,
ROBERT HOLMES.

HENRY WOOD,
WM. SPURSTOWE,
SAMUEL ALDERSEY,
RICH. SYMONDS,
THOMAS NEWTON,
JOHN WELLS,
WILLIAM HILL."

This is a very interesting memorandum. It shows the manner in which ministers were obliged to exhibit evidence of conformity. It also indicates that Spurstow and Aldersey, members of the Company, were, at that time, parishioners of Davenport; and that the baptismal name of the former was William. See *ante*, pp. xciv-v.

We take this opportunity to correct the statement, derived from Mather and others, that Mr. Davenport's father was Mayor of Coventry. Henry Davenport, the Mayor, may have been his grandfather, or his uncle, but was not his father.

The following persons, named in the Records, may, some of them, have been members of the Company; others merely furnished supplies for the ships, or were otherwise employed in its service:

William Barkley, Thomas Beecher, master of the ship Talbot; John Betts, Felix Boreman, Richard Bowry, Thomas Brickhead, Edward Casson, merchant tailor; Robert Charlton, Joseph Churchill, Richard Claydon, carpenter; Barnaby Claydon, Thomas Cony,[1] Mr. Durbridge, James Edmonds, sailor and fisherman; Mr. Gardener, Henry Gauden, master of the ship Abigail; John Gace, turner; John Gladwing, Thomas Graves, engineer; Thomas Hanscombe, Robert Harrett, Gawen Helme, Francis Johnson,[2] Mr. Joyce,[3] Jarvis Kerke, Humphrey Lewis, John Malbon, worker in iron; Mr. Mayo, Sydrach Miller, cooper and cleaver; Barnard Mitchell, Robert Morley, barber surgeon;

[1] This may be the person called by Clarendon "One Cony, an eminent fanatic," who had been a warm friend of Cromwell, but resisted his extraordinary taxes, as Hampden had resisted those of the King. He was sent to the Tower, and employed counsel in his defence. Being remonstrated with by Cromwell, he replied, by quoting Cromwell's own language, "that all who submitted to and paid illegal taxes were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who imposed them." *Clarendon*, 2899. Thomas Cony is mentioned in Savage's "Gleanings," *Mass. Hist. Col.* 3d se. vol. viii.

[2] Francis Johnson is the first name mentioned in the Records. It appears in connection with certain supplies for the ships, and does not occur again. It is possible that he may be Francis Johnson, who was an ejected minister, and became one of Cromwell's chaplains. He is said to have had no very good elocution, and took no charge after his ejection, but lived many years in Gray's Inn Lane, London, and died in 1677. *Calamy*, ii. 59.

[3] We would simply remind the reader, that the officer who, on the 3d of June, 1647, seized the person of the King at Holdenby, and conducted him to the army, was "one *Joyce*, an active agitator." See *Clarendon*, p. 2145. *Hume*, ch. lix.

Robert Moulton, shipwright; John Pratt, surgeon; William Rovell, ship-master; Lawrence Roe, Robert Seale, apprentice; William Sherman, John Whitt, Ralph White, John Wise, shoemaker.

THE COMPANY'S RECORDS.

RECORDS OF THE COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, IN NEW ENGLAND.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

[It may be observed, by those who compare such portions of the Records as have been inserted in other works, with the present publication, that there are here, sometimes, different readings of the text, and different statements with regard to matters of fact in the annotations. These variations are supposed to be justified by a careful examination of the original manuscript, and contemporary documents, under all the advantages afforded by the labors of previous writers.

The supposition which has been entertained, that the earliest memoranda relate to the outfit of the vessels that carried out Higginson and his company, and sailed in April and June, 1629, is believed to be erroneous. The first entries, as far as the words "To prouide to send for Newe England," apparently have reference to the expedition under Endicott, which sailed in June, 1628. They are made by John Washborne, who appears to have commenced a rough record before a Secretary was appointed. The "apparrell" is for one hundred men, the number of planters that Higginson says he found at Salem on his arrival. (See his "*N. E. Plantation.*") In other respects, the particulars of the outfit better accord with Endicott's smaller party; and, moreover, the preparations for the expedition which Higginson accompanied are recorded in another place.

We regard these entries, though without date, as standing in strictly chronological order. This is an important consideration, inasmuch as they are the only record we possess of the proceedings

of the company before it was made a *corporation* by the charter from the crown. Its acts probably had no legal sanction, and were binding only in conscience. Captain John Smith, in describing the adventurers connected with the *Plymouth* Colony, says, "They are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination, in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to do good, and to plant religion." (*Smith's Hist. of Virginia*, ii. 251.) Such was, doubtless, the condition of the Massachusetts Company, until formally organized under the royal authority. It is to be presumed that proper account-books were kept for matters of trade, and merely mercantile transactions; while the incidental enterprise of establishing a religious colony, being at the outset an assumption of individual responsibility rather than a regular business proceeding, might naturally for a time be without a methodical register.

Thus we conceive the state of the Record to accord with the actual condition of things at the time, and to afford an illustration of the manner in which an undertaking destined to produce such great results commenced.

We learn its desultory beginning from the prime mover himself. According to the narrative of White, in "*The Planter's Plea*," only a portion of the mercantile adventurers were disposed to forward the plantation of a colony at Salem. Some of these sent over cattle to the few men who had selected that location, and, conferring casually with some gentlemen of London, induced them to add as many more. The subject was then agitated in London, where it was approved by some, and disliked by others. Some individuals offered the help of their purses, if fit men could be procured to go over; and, inquiry being made, Endicott was "lighted on at last," and accepted the proposition as soon as it was tendered. This gave so much encouragement, that sufficient money was subscribed for procuring a patent. (See *Planter's Plea*, ch. 9, in *Force's Historical Tracts*.)

The first date in the Record is March 16th, the year not named; but it must have been 1628, (new style,) because there come after it the dates of Feb. 26th, March 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 16*th* of 1629. Nothing in the manuscript indicates a misplacing of dates.

It was in March, 1628, (new style,) that Endicott united with Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, &c., in the purchase of the

territory between Merrimack and Charles Rivers from the Council of Plymouth. He did not wait for a charter from the King, but sailed on the 20th of June following, nearly a year preceding the embarkation of Higginson.

It is interesting to establish the fact, that these imperfect memoranda belong to that inchoate period of the Company's history when the Dorsetshire men and the Lincolnshire men first combined their efforts for planting a colony. The Record becomes gradually more full and methodical as an organization is perfected, and is thus indicative of the various stages of progress. In this view its preliminary pages acquire an importance, and even a degree of completeness, they have not heretofore been supposed to possess.

By adopting too implicitly the careless statements of contemporary writers, or standard authors entitled to general confidence, upon points not deemed by them of sufficient consideration to demand critical accuracy, little errors, incidentally affecting matters of greater moment, are often perpetuated.

Deputy Governor Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, speaks as if the movement for a plantation began in Lincolnshire; which other evidence proves to be an incorrect representation. He also conveys the impression, which Hubbard in his history converts into a direct statement, that Endicott was not sent over till after a charter was obtained from the crown. The authentic dates of the two events show a precedence of nearly a year for the former. Hutchinson expresses an opinion, heedlessly followed to the present day, that the three persons first named in the grant from the Plymouth Council (Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, and Thomas Southcoat) "had nothing more in view than a settlement for trade with the natives, or for fishing, or other advantageous purposes. As soon as a colony for religion was projected, we hear no more of them." So far is this from being true, we do not hear of them at all until *after* the colony for religion was projected. It was after Endicott had been selected to lead the enterprise, that they united with him in the purchase of the whole territory of Massachusetts Bay, apparently, at least, for the very purpose of a religious colony, certainly not merely for trade or fishery. Their names stand first in the subsequent charter from the King, procured expressly with a view to civil and religious organization. It is more probable that they disinterestedly lent the weight of their

names, and the aid of their purses, or their credit, to an enterprise which they favored, but in which they did not propose to be personally engaged.

Setting aside these and other sources of misapprehension, we may perhaps arrive at a tolerably correct conception of the state of things at the commencement of our Record.

A common and almost contemporaneous sentiment having sprung up in Dorsetshire and Lincolnshire, that a place of refuge must be provided, where puritan principles may be cherished and cultivated without molestation, the parties influenced by this feeling meet and confer together at London, a point about equally distant from the two shires. John White makes known the favorable opportunity existing at Massachusetts Bay. The suggestion is favorably received. A suitable leader of an expedition is inquired for. Endicott is found, and certain gentlemen of standing and credit are persuaded to assist in securing the territory. Lord Viscount Dorchester is engaged to solicit a royal charter. Preparations are made for Endicott's early departure. The business is conducted less by the Company collectively than by individual exertion and liberality. John Washborne, looking forward to the appointment of Secretary, begins to take loose memoranda. Certain articles are to be provided by Francis Johnson; others by Ralph White; others by the Deputy Governor; others by the Treasurer; and others by Mr. Vassal.

Endicott having sailed, it is considered what things are necessary to be sent after him by the first opportunity. Washborne makes his memorandum, "To provide to *send* for New England. Ministers, Patent under Seal, a Seal," &c. &c.

At this point matters are suffered to rest, waiting for the patent, and the reception of intelligence from Endicott.

On the 13th of February, 1629, (new style,) letters were received from Endicott, announcing his safe arrival at Salem. On the 23d of the same month, a warrant is issued for paying the charges of his passage; and arrangements are immediately entered into for a new expedition. It appears from Governor Cradock's reply to Endicott's letters, dated February 16th, that transactions are now "in behalf of the whole company," which was "much enlarged" since his departure. On the 5th of March, the day after the charter had passed the seals, Washborne is proposed for Secre-

tary; but the decision is deferred till the 9th, when he is engaged for a year, "to enter the Courts, to keep the company's accounts, &c.," on a promise of faithful and diligent endeavors to perform all the duties of that office.

On the 13th of May following, the last Wednesday in Easter, the day assigned by the charter for the choice of officers, occurs the first general election under the authority of that instrument. William Burgess is chosen Secretary. On commencing his record, he leaves a few blank pages between his entries and those of his predecessor.

These explanations, rendered necessary by the obscure and fragmentary character of the Record at its commencement, are believed to be sufficient to set the reader fairly on his way. How much of the beginning has been lost, it is impossible to conjecture. The first line that is preserved is at the very top of the page in the original; indeed, so near the edge that the upper portions of the letters are worn away.]

THE COMPANY'S RECORDS.

cast in the ballast of the shipps, & 2 lode of chalke & 5 chauldron of sea coales. A. D. 1628.

10 thousand of bricks.

Naieles.

Iron.	Iron 1 tun.	*ffr: Johnson.*
Steele.	Steele 2 ffagotts.[1]	*Ralph White.*
Red lead.	Lead 1 ffodder.[2]	at corner
Nayles.	Read lead 1 barrill.	of philpot lane, for
Salt.		aquavite.
Sayle cloth.		
appl.		

[1] A fagot of steel is the quantity of 120*l.* weight. *Chambers's Un. Dict.*

[2] Fodder, or Fother, a burden, a weight of lead containing 8 pigs, each weighing 8 stone and an half, reckoned at 2600 pounds in the book of rates, 2200 and an half at the mines, and 1900 and an half by the London plumbers. *Bailey's Dict.*

Apparrell ffor 100 *men.*

A. D. 1628.

400 peare of shewes.

300 peare of stockings, w^e^of 200 pere Irish, about 11^d^ 13^d^ a pr. *m^r^. Depty.*

100 peare of knit stockings, about 2^s^ 4^d^ a pr. *m^r^. Trer.*

10 dussen peare of Norwich garters, about 5^s^ a dussen pr.

400 shirts.

200 sutes dublett and hose, of leather, lyned with oild skyn Leather, ye hose & dublet wth hookes & eyes.

100 sutes of Norden dussens, or hampsheere kerseis, lyned, the hose wth skins, the dublets wth lynen, of gilford or gedlyman kerseyes, 2*s* 10^d^ to 3*s* a yard, 4½ to 5 y^ds^ a sute. *at the George in southwarke.*

400. bands, 300 playne falling bands.[1]

200 handkerchers.

100. Wastcoates of greene Cotton, bound about wth Red tape.

100. Lether girdles.

100 Munmouth[2] capps, about 2*s* a peece.

100. black hatts, lyned in the browes wth lether.

500 Redd knitt capps, milled, about 5^d^ a peece.

200 dussen hookes & eyes. . & small hookes & eyes for mandillions.[3]

16. dussen of gloues, w^e^of 12 dussen of Calfs lether, & 2 dussen tand sheepes lether, & 2 dussen kyd.

ells sheer lynnen ffor handkerchers.

½ a deker[4] of Leather, of the best bend[5] lether.

Matts to lye vnder 50 bedds aboard shippe.

50. Ruggs.

50 peare of blanketts of welsh cotton.

100 peare of sheetes.

[1] For the neck, cravats.

[2] Monmouth was noted for the manufacture of caps for soldiers.

[3] The Mandilion (*mandiglione*, It.) was a loose cassock for soldiers. *Bailey.*

[4] Ten hides constitute a dicker of leather. *Bailey.*

[5] Sole leather, cut from the best part of the hide. *Young's Notes in Chronicles of Mass.*

50 bedtykes & bolsters, wth wool to put therein, Skotsh ticking. A. D. 1628.
Lynnen ffor towells & tableclothes & napkins.
sea Chests:
3 C. poppering hopps, & 1 C. pr.ticuler.

m^r. vassall. 16 *March.* agreed the apparell to bee 100 Mandillions, lyned wth w^t. cotton 12^d a y^d, breeches & wastcote, & 100 lether sutes, Dubletts & breeches, of oyled lether. Mar. 16.
100 p^r breeches of lether, drawers to serue to weare wth boeth there other sutes.[1]

To prouide to send for Newe England.

[P]eticon to hynder y^e [se]lling guns & gunpowder.
[Re]membr if cattell.[2]

Ministers.
Pattent vnder seale.
a seale.
men skylfull in making of Pitch, of Salt, vyne planters.

Wheate, Rye, barly, oates, a hhed of ech in the eare, benes, pease, stones of all sorts of fruites, as peaches, plummes, filberts, cherries, peare, aple, quince kernells, pomegranats.
Woad seed.
Saffron heads.
liquorice seed, Rootes, sent
& Madder Rootes.
potatoes.
hoprootes.
hempeseede.
☞ fflaxe seede, agenst wynter.
Connys. (*coneys*)
Currant plants.
☞ tame Turkeys.
Shewes.

[1] The preceding memoranda are all that can relate to the preparations for the expedition under Endicott. The next entry is an enumeration of things proper to be *sent* by a subsequent opportunity.

[2] There are some other words in the margin, so illegible that it has not been deemed worth while to insert a merely conjectural reading.

A. D. 1628.

lynnen cloth.
woollen cloth.
pewter botles of pyntes & qrts.
brass ladells & spoones.
Coppr kettells, of ye f[ren]ch making,
w^th^out barrs of Iron about them.
Oyled Skynnes of lether
Madder seede.

1629. Feb. 16. Letters were received from Endicott on the 13th of February, 1629, announcing his arrival at Salem, which occurred on the 6th of September,[1] 1628. On the 16th, Matthew Cradock, in behalf of the company, wrote the following reply. Endicott's letters, and a previous one written by Cradock, unfortunately are not preserved.

"Worthy S^r^, & my louinge ffreynd; all dew Comendacons premised to yor self & second self, [w]ith harty well wishes from my self & many others, well willers & Adventurers in this ou[r] Plantacon, to yor self & the Rest of yor good Company, of whose safe arryvall beeing[e n]ow throughlie Informed, by yor Lres bearinge date the 13 *Septemb^r^ last*, wch came [t]o my hands the 13. *this Instant february*, we doe not a little Reioyce; & to heare [that] my good Cozen, yor wiffe, were prfectly Recouered of her healthe, would be [ac]ceptable newes to vs all, wch God graunt, in his good tyme, that wee may. Mea[nwh]ile I am, in the behalf of ou^r^ whole Company, (wch are much inlarged sence yor [d]eprture out of England,) to give yo^u^ harty thankes ffor yor lardge Advise [contained in thi]s yor letter, wch I haue fully imparted vnto them; and farther to [Giue proof tha]t thei intende not to bee wantinge by all good meanes to furd[er the] Plantacon; to wch purpose, (god willinge,) yo^u^ shall heare more at [another time,] & that speedily, there beinge One Shipp bought for the Co[mpany, of 20]0 tunnes, & 2 others hyred, of about 200 tunns each of them — 1 of 19 [and 1 of 1]0 peeces of [o]rdnance; besides, not vnlike but one other vessell shall [come in] Companie wth theise. In all wch shipps, for the genrall stocke and proprty [of the ad]venture[r]s, there is likelye to be sent thether twixt 2. & 300 prsons, wee ho[pe to res]ide there, and about 100 head of Cattell, wherefore, as I wrote y^u^ in [full, and sen]t *by m^r^. Allerton of New Plimoth in November last*, soe ye desire of the[m is, that] yo^u^ would endeuour to gett Convenient howsinge fitt to lodge as manye as yo^u^ can agai]nst they doe Come; and w^th^all w^t^ bever, or other Comodities, or ffishe, if t[he mean]es to prserve it can be gotten readie, to Returne in the

[1] Felt's Annals of Salem.

foresaid shipps; [and like]wise wood, if noe better ladinge be to be had. A.D.
That yo^{u} would endevor to get in [rea]dines w^{t} yo^{u}. can, whereby our 1629.
shipps, whereof twoe are to returne backe [direc]tlye heather, maye not Feb. 16.
come wholye emptye. There hath not bine a better tyme [for sa]le of tymber theise twoe seaven yeres then at present, & therefore pittye [these] shipps should come backe emptye, if it might be made readie y^{t} they neede [not stope 1 daye] for it; otherwise mens wages & victualls, together wth the shipps, will quicklie rise too high, if to be reladen wth wood, and y^{t} the same be not readie to [put] aboord as soone as the shipps are discharged of theire outward ladinge. [I] wishe alsoe y^{t} there be some sassaffras and sarsaparilla sent us, as a[lsoe good st]ore of shoomacke, if there to be had, as wee are informed there is; the l[ike do]e I wishe for a Tun waight at least of silke grasse, & of ought elce y^{t} maye be [vs]efull for dyinge, or in phisicke, to have some of ech sent, & advise given wthall w^{t}. store of each to be had there, if vent maye be found here for it; alsoe I hope yo^{u} will have some good sturgion in a Readines to send vs, & if it be well cured, 2 or 300 ffirkins thereof would helpe well towards our charge. Wee are very Confident of yor. best endevors for the genrall good, & wee doubt not but god will in mrcye give a blessinge vpo^{n} our laboures, & wee trust yo^{u} will not be vnmindfull of the mayne end of our plantacon, by Indevoringe to bringe ye Indians to the knowledge of the gospell; wch y^{t} it maye be speedier & better effected, ye earnest desire of our whole Comp^{a}. is, y^{t} yo^{u} have dilligent & watchfull Eye on our owne people, that they live vnblameable & wthout reproofe, & demeane themselves iustlye & Curteous towards [ye Indians,] thereby to drawe them to affect our prsons, and Consequentlye our Religion; as alsoe to endevour to gett some of theire Children to trayne vp to readinge & Consequentlye to Religion, whilest they are yonge; herein to yonge or olde to omitt noe good opportuni[tye] y^{t} maye tend to bringe them out of y^{t} woefull state and Condicon they now are in; In wch case o^{r}. Predecessors in this our land sometymes were, and but for ye mrcye and, goodnes of our good god, might have continued to this daye; but god, whoe out of [the] boundles Ocean of his mrcye hath shewed pittie and Compassion to our land, he is alsuffitient, & can bringe this to passe wch wee now desire in y^{t} Count[r]ye likewise. Onlie let vs not be wantinge on o^{r} prtes, n[ow]e wee are c[alled] to [this] worke of the Lords, neither, having [p]ut our [ha]ndes to the [plowe, let vs look back, but goe on cheerfullye, and depend vpon God for a blessing vpon our labours,] whoe by weake Instruments Is able, (if he see it good,) to bringe glori[ous thinges to passe.]

Be of good Cõurage, goe on, and doe woorthilye, & the Lord prspr yor [endevor.]

It is fullie resolued, by gods assistance, to send over *twoe Ministers*, [at the least, with the] shippes now intended to be sent thether; but for m^{r}. *Peters*, he is now [in Holland, from] whence his Returne hether I hold to

A.D. 1629. Feb. 16. be vncertaine. Those wee send, sh[all be by the appro]bacon of mr. *White* of Dorchester, and m^r^. *Davenport*. ffor w^t^soev[er else you have given] advise, Care shall be taken, god willinge, to prforme the needefull, a[s neere as wee can,] and the tymes will prmitt; whereof alsoe yo^u^ maye expect more amp[le advertisement in] theire genrall letter, when god shall send our shipps thether. The C[ourse you have taken] in givinge our Countrymen theire Content in the point of pl[antinge tobacco] there for the present, (theire necessitie Considered,) is not disallowed [; but wee trust in] god other meanes will be found to imploye theire tyme more Comfor[table and profitable] alsoe in the end; and wee cannot but genrallie approve and Comend th[eir good resolution] to desist fro the plantinge thereof, when as they shall discerne howe [to imploye their] labours otherwise; wch wee hope they will be speedilye induced vnto [by such precepts] & Examples as wee shall give them. And now mindinge to Conclude [this, I maye not] omitt to put yo^u^ in mynde, how eu^r^ yo^u^ seeme to feare noe Enimies the[re, yet that you have] a watchfull Eye for yor. owne saftye, and the saftye of all those of [our nation with you,] and not to bee too Confident of the ffidellitie of the Salvages. It [is an old proverb, yet] as true, "the burnt Childe dreades the fyre." Our Countrymen [have suffered, by] theire too much Confidence, in Virginea. Let vs by theire harmes [learne to beware]; and as wee are Comanded to be innocent as Doves, soe w^th^al wee [are enjoined to be] wise as serpents. The god of heaven & earth prserve & keepe [you from all forayne] and Inland Enimies, & blesse & prspr this Plantacon, to the the enl[argement of the kingdom] of Jesus Christ; to whose mrcifull prteceon I recomend yo^u^, [and all your assotiates] there, knowne or vnknowne. And soe tyll my next, wch shall [be, God willinge, by our] shipps, whoe I make account will be readie to set sayle fro[m hence about *the 20th of*] *this next moneth of Marche*, I end; and rest,

Yo^r^ [assured loving friende
and Cussen, MATHEWE CRADOCK.

[ffrom] my howse in Swithens Lane
n[eere] London stone, this 16*th*
ffebruarye 1628, stilo.
A[ngl]iæ."

NOTE. — The original letter, in a worn and tattered condition, lies loose in the first volume of the Colony Records.

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23. February, 1628.

1629. Feb. 23. This day dld a warrant to m^a^ George Harwood, Threr, to pay [m^r^] Barnard Michell One hundred pounds, in prte of the ffreight of the [Abigail] Heneri gawden m^a^, from Waimouth

to Nahumkeke, the goods shipt [per bill] of lading dated 20 June last, beeing pr bill of lading 46½ tuns of [goods], besyds ye Chardge of Capten John Endecott, his wiffe & prso[ns of] his Company theire passage & dyett. A.D. 1629. Feb. 23.

26th W^m^ sherman hath liberty for 14 daies to fech his Keynes in Northampt. neere ferry.

26 February 1628.

Necessaries Conseaued meete for o^r^ Intended Voiadge for newe Eng[land] to bee prepared forth wth.

ffor our 5. peeces of ordnance Longe sence bowght and Payd ff[or], John Humphry is intreated & doeth prmiss foorwth to Cause [them] to bee delyuered to Samuell Sharpe, who Is to take Care [for] hauing fytt Carriadges made for them. Feb. 26.

Armes ffor 100 *men.*

3 drums, to ech 2 pere of hedds.

2 Ensignes.

2 partizans[1] for Capten & Lieftenant.

3 Halberts,[2] for 3 sarjants.

80 Bastard musketts, wth snaphances,[3] 4 ffoote in the barrill, w^th^out Rests.

06 Longe ffowlinge peeces, wth muskett boare, 6½ foote longe.

4 Longe ffowlinge peeces, wth bastard muskett boare, 5½ foote Longe.

10 ffull musketts, 4 foote barrill, wth matchcocks & Rests.[4]

90 bandeleers,[5] for the musketts, ech wth a bullett bag.

[1] A kind of pike, or spontoon.

[2] Battle-axes, or pole-axes. Partisans and halberds, at this period, were rather weapons of ceremony than intended for service. They indicated the rank or office of the bearer, and were carried before the chief magistrate on public occasions. Hence they were made in slight and fanciful forms.

[3] The snaphance was the primitive firelock, the first improvement upon the matchlock.

[4] The matchlocks were heavy pieces, and a portable rest was used in firing them. The match was carried ready lighted in tin cases, and a small piece was attached to the hammer of the lock when the musket was in use.

[5] The bandaleer (*bandalier*, Fr.) was a leathern belt thrown over the right shoulder, and hanging under the left arm, both for sustaining the fire arms and for carrying the little wooden cases containing the charges. *Chambers.*

A.D. 1629. Feb. 26.

10 Horne fflaskes, for the long fowling peeces, to hould a lb. a peece, &

100 Swordes, and belts.

60 Cosletts,[1] & 60 pikes. 20 halffe pikes.

12 blls Powder, { 8 barrills for the forte, 4 ffor small shot.

shott, 1lb to a bandelere.

8 peeces of Land ordnance for the forte,

wcof 5 alreddy pruided,

nameley 2 demie Culuerings, 30 C weight a peece,[2]

3 sackers, ech weinge 25 C wt.

to pruide { 1 whole Culueringe, as long as may bee, 2 small peeces, Iron drakes.

ffor great shott, A ffitt proporcon to the ordnance.

A Sayne, beeing a nett to ffish wth.

for the Talbut,[3] if 100 passingers & 35 maryners: 3 monthes, yc maryners accounted doble.

45 tun beere, wcof 6 tun 4s } beere Mallega & canari caske
39 tun 6s. } 16s a tun.

6 tuns of water.

12 m of bread, after ¾ C. to a man.

22 hheds of bieffe.

40 bushells peas, a peck a man yc voyadg.

20 bushells oatemeale.

4 C. haberdyne,[4] 62 cople ech C; ech cople makes [unintelli-ble] a man pr day.

[1] The corselet was a coat of mail for the body, originally peculiar to the pikemen. *Chambers.*

[2] There were three sizes of culverins, and also three sizes of what were called demi-culverins. The above correspond most nearly to the "demi-culverin ordinary," weighing about 2700 pounds, 10 or 11 feet in length, its charge 7 pounds 4 ounces of powder, the weight of its shot 10 pounds 11 ounces, and its point blank distance 175 paces. The whole culverin, or culverin extraordinary, was 13 feet long, with a bore of 5½ inches diameter, and the weight of its shot 20 pounds. Sakers were of three sizes, extraordinary, ordinary, and least. Those mentioned above must have been unusually large, as the common weight of the largest was but 1800 pounds, with a bore of 3⅓ inches diameter, and carrying a 7¼ pound shot. *Chambers's Dict.*

[3] The ships first fitted out for the new expedition were the Talbot of 300 tons, the George of 300 tons, and the Lion's Whelp of 120 tons. These sailed in April. Three others, the Mayflower, the Four Sisters, and the Pilgrim, sailed in June. Compare Cradock's letters to Endicott, and Higginson's Journal of his voyage.

[4] Haberdine, salt-fish. *Bailey.*

A.D. 1629.

8 dussen pounds of Candeles.
2 terces of beere vyneger.
1½ bushells mustard seede.
20 gallons oyle, gallipoly or mayorke,[1] *a qurt* a man.
2 fferkins of soape.
2 Runlett spanish wyne, 10 gall[s] a pr.
4. thowsand of billets.
10 firkins of butter.
10 C. of cheese.
20 gallons aqua vite.

26. February, 1628.

Feb. 26. agreed wth Jn° hewson to make 8 pere of Welt[2] neates leather sheues, closed on the out sydes wth a seame; to bee substanciall, good ouer Leather, of the best, and 2 soles, the Inner soale of good neates Leather, & the owter sole of tallowed backs; to bee 2 pr. of 10 Inches, 2 p[r]. 11 inches, 2 p[r]. of 12 Inches, & 2 pr. of 13 Inches size.

the proporcons wee Intend Is, 1 of 10 Inches,
3 of 11 Inches,
3 of 12 Inches,
1 of 13 Inches,
} 2 7[d].

2 of 8 Inches,
2 of 9 Inches,
} 2. 4. & hee to refer it to y[e] Compa whether to alow 1[d] pr. pair more.

2 Marche, 1628.

Mar. 2. This day James Edmonds, a saylor, ffisher, & a Coup[r], was propounded to serue the Comp. as also Sydrach Miller, a Coup & a Cleuer, who demanding 45[lb], for him & his man the first yeere, 50[lb] a yeere the second & third yeere, & Edmonds demands being 10[lb] the first yeere, 15[lb] the second, & 20[lb] the third yeere, boeth held to deere for the Comp. to be at charges w[th]all.

[P]resent,
Gou.
Depty,
Wright,
[V]assall,
[Har]wood,
[C]oulson,
[A]dams,
[N]owel,
[W]hetcombe,
Perry,
[H]uson.

[1] From Gallipoli or Majorca.

[2] Welt, (*wealtan*, Saxon,) to roll. "A fold or doubling down of cloth in making a garment." *Bailey*. Welt shoes were probably of two thicknesses of leather.

A.D. 1629. Also, for m^r. Malbon, It was prpounded, he hauing skyll In Iron works, & willing to put In 25^lb in stocke, It should bee accepted as 50^lb — & his Charges to be bore out & home for New England; & Vppon his Returne, & Report what may bee done about Iron Works, Consyderacon to be had of proceeding therein accordingly, & ffurder Recompence if there be Cause to Inter[t]ayne him.

Towching making of salt, It was Conseaued ffytt that Comoddetty should be Reserued for the generall Stock's benefitt; yeet wth this pruiso, that aney planter or brother of the Comp. should haue as much as he might aney way haue occasyon to make vsse of, at as Cheape Rate as themselues Cowld make it; pruided if the Comp. bee not sufficiently pruided for themselffs, then prticuler men may haue liberty to make for there owne expence & vsse euery way, but not to transporte nor sell.

Towching Jno. Oldam,[1] the gouer^r was ordered to Conferr wth him vppon aney Indifferent Course that might not bee preiudiciall to the Comp. Also It being propounded by m^r. Coney, in the behalfe of the Boston men,[2] (wherof dyuers had prmised, though not in our booke vnder written, to aduenture 400^lb for the joint stock,) that nowe there desire was that 10 prsons of them might vnderwrite 25^lb a man in the joint stock, they w^thall prmisinge wth theise shippes to aduenture in there prticuler aboue 250^lb more, and to pruide abell men to send ouer for manadging the buissines, wch though it bee preiudiciall to the generall stock, by the abatement of so much money thereout, yeet appearing Realley to Conduce more to the good of the Plantacon, wch Is most desired, It was Condiscended vnto.

[1] Oldham had come from Massachusetts as custodian of Thomas Morton, the "Lord of Misrule," of Merry Mount, who had been arrested by a joint effort of the settlers at New England, for riotous conduct and selling arms to the Indians. He was sent over to "his Majesty's Council for New England," not to the Massachusetts Company. See *Gov. Bradford's Letter Book in Mass. Hist. Col.* (3, 63.)

[2] Boston, in Lincolnshire, from which the Massachusetts Capital derived its name, soon acquired an important influence in the Colony from the character of the emigrants which it furnished.

3, Marche, 1628. A.D. 1629.

[Pre]sent. [The] Gou[r]nr, [mr.] Depty, [mr.] Wright, [mr.] Nowel, [mr. Sha]rpe.

It was at present debated howe some good Course might bee setteled for the deuission of the lands, and that all men Intendinge to goe in prson or to send ouer, might vnderwrite & seale some Instrument to bee made, whereby euery man to be tyed to such orders as shalbee agreed vppon here; And that a Coppey of this agreement bee sent to Dorchester, ffor all men to vnderwrite and seale, that Intend to take theire passage in the Lyons Whelpe,[1] or ells order to be taken that the shippe prceede w[th]out th[em] Mar. 3.

The 3. March 1628.

mr. Samuell Sharpe, wth whome there hath beene an agreeyme[nt] made in the behalffe of the Comp. to geeue him ten pounds pr [annum] for three yeeres, to haue the ouersight of the ordnance to bee planted in the ffort to bee built vppon the Plantacon, & what ells may Concerne artillery bisines to geeue his aduise in; But ffor all other implyments was Left to bee Intertayned by aney prticuler bret[hren] of the Companie, who for other occasions had Intertayned [him] alreddy, & held not fytt to bee at furder chardge in that kynd . . . . . the sayd Sharpe Is also Intertayned to ouersey the [servants] and Implyments of Certen prticuler men of the Comp. But for the generall [Company] presented a bill ffor three drums, & other prticulers, amountinge to fyue pounds xix s., wch the trer hath order to paye.

The 5. Marche 1628.

Present. The gour, mr. Depty, mr. Threr, Sr Rich: Saltonstal,

A newe prposicon beeinge made in the behalfe of mr. Oldum[2] to bee Intertayned [by] this Comp: It was deferred to furder consideracon. Mar. 5.

[1] The Lion's Whelp was specially assigned to adventurers from Dorchester and its neighborhood. *Higginson's Journal.*

[2] John Oldham had been expelled from Plymouth for factious behavior, chiefly connected with religious differences, being associated with John Lyford, the Episco-

A.D. 1629. Capt. Ven. mr. Wright, mr. Nowel, mr. White, mr. Whetcombe, mr. Whitchcombe. Also Jn°. Washborne beeinge prpounded for secretary to the Co[mpany] it was Conseaued fytt to Intertayne him, but deferred till another [meeting]

A proposicon beeing made by Sr. Wm. Brereton to the Gour. of a p[atent] graunted him of lands in the Massachusets bay by mr. Jn°. G[orges], & that if this Comp. would make him a prmise, so as he con[sent] to vnderwrite wth this Comp. It might not bee preiudi[tiall] to his pattent;[1] It was Resolued this Answere should [bee] geeuen him, nameley. That if he pleased to vnder[write] wth vs wthout aney Condicon whatsoeuer, but to Come in [as] all other aduenturers doe, he should bee welcome vpp[on] the same Condicons that wee have.

A Proposicon beeinge made to Intertayne a surgeon for [the] plantacon. mr. pratt[2] was prpounded as an abell man vp[pon] theis Condicons nameley.

That 40lb. should bee allowed him, vizt, for his Chist 25lb, the Rest his owne sallery for the first yeere, pruided if he Con-

pal clergyman, in the charge of "plotting against both the *church* and the *government* of the Pilgrims." A portion of that company in England were, however, still disposed to sustain them; and thus they were recommended to Mr White when he was seeking suitable agents for establishing the colony at Cape Ann. On a voyage to Virginia Oldham became penitent, and, after confessing his faults, was restored to favor at Plymouth. He was killed by the Indians in 1636, having long been accustomed to associate and traffic with them. He is represented as on the whole a well meaning man, but violent in his passions. He claimed a portion of the territory of Massachusetts Bay, in virtue of a grant from a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; of which more will be said in another place.

[1] John Gorges received by descent from his brother Robert (both being sons of Sir Ferdinando,) a patent from the Council of Plymouth, dated December 13, 1622, conveying ten miles in length, and thirty miles into the land, on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay. This patent was disregarded by the subsequent grantees as invalid, partly for its uncertainty; and the claims of Brereton and others derived from that source were never sustained. *Hutchinson's Hist.* 1, 14; *Young's Chronicles of Mass.* 51; *Mass. Archives, Lands*, i. 1; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* 3*d Series*, Vol. 6.

[2] This Mr. Pratt's name was John. In *Winthrop's Journal, Savage's ed.* Vol. I. p. 173, he is named as of Newton in N. E., and as being called to account for writing a letter to England, "wherein he affirmed divers things which were untrue and of ill report of the state of the country." In *Ib.* Vol. II. page 239, is an account of his being wrecked and drowned, with his wife in 1644. He had become discontented, and, says Winthrop, "would needs go back into England, for surgeons were then in great request there by occasion of the wars." He was lost on the way, near the coast of Spain.

[tinue] 3 yeeres, the Comp. to bee at Charge of transporting his wiffe & a yo[uth, to] haue 20^{lb} a yeere for the other 2 yeeres, & to build him a hou[se att] the Comp^{ys}. chardge, & to allott him 100 ac. of ground; but if he stay but one yeere, then the comp^{y}. to be at Chard[ge] of his bringing back for England, & he to Leaue his sru[ant] and the Chist for the Comp. seruice. A.D. 1629.

Agreed wth Robert Morley, sruant to m^{r}. Andrewe Mathewes, late barber surgeon, to srue the Comp. in newe England for three y[eeres]; the first yeere to haue 20 Nobles,[1] the second yeere [thirty, and the third] yeere 20 markes, to serue as a barber & a surgeon [vppon all] occasyons belonging to his Calling to aney of this [Comp^{y}] that are planters, or there seruants; & for his [Chist, & all in it, whereof he hath geeuen an Inuentory, [if on the] sight of it It bee approoued, ffyve pounds Is [to bee allowed] and payd to him ffor it, & the same to bee fo[rthwith payd.]

The 5. Marche, 1628.

The buissines Concerning the deuission of the lands, prpounded the 3.^{d} of this monthe, was agayne taken into Consideracon, & It was Resolued that Capten Waller, Capt, Ven, m^{r}. Eaton, & m^{r}. Addams, m^{r}. Whetcombe, m^{r}. Wright, m^{r}. Vassall, m^{r}. Threr, wth the Gou^{r}ne^{r} & Dep^{ty}, shall consyder seriously of the buissines, Calling to there assistance m^{r}. graues, m^{r}. Joyce, or aney other, & to sett downe in writeinge what Course they conseaue fytt to bee held herein, whereby an equallety may bee held, to avoyd all Contention twixt the aduenturers; and monday morn apoynted for theis Comittees to meete about this buissines. Mar. 5.

This Court also m^{r}. Thoms Graues was prpounded to goe ouer wth the shippes nowe bound for Newe England, to haue his Chargs borne out & home; & beeinge a man experienced In Iron workes, In salt workes, in measuring & surveyinge of lands, & in fortifficacons, in lead, coppr, & allam mynes, ets.

[1] A noble was worth about 6s. 8d. A mark was double the value of a noble.

A.D. 1629. hauinge a Chardge of wiffe, 5 Children, a man & mayd sruant, after some conference wth him, he tendring his Implyment to goe & Returne wth one of o^{r} shyps, to the com^{pys} discression ffor his sallery in that tyme, It was thought fytt that he should Consyder twixt this & tomorrow what to demand, in Case he did Returne prntly wth the shippe he should take his passage in; & what his demands would bee if the Comp. should Contyneue him there, and bee at Chardges of the transportacon of his wiffe & ffameley thether in theire next shippes, if he take lyking to Contyneue in Newe England.

m^{r}. Jno Malbon beeing also desyred to bee heere, after Conference had wth him touching the prposicon made in his behalffe the 2. of this monthe, he was wished to Consyder what further prposicon he would make, that the Comp. might take it Into Consyderacon.

The 6. Marche, 1628.

Mar. 6. Agreed wth m^{r}. Thomas Steeuens, Armorer in buttolph lane, for 20 Armes, vizt. Coslett, brest, back, culet, gorgett, tases, & hed peece to ech, varnished all black, wth Lethers & buckles, at 17^{s} ech Armour, excepting 4. wch are to bee wth Close hed peeces, & theis 4 Armours at 24^{s} a peece, to bee dd all by the 20th of this monthe; w^{c}of 1 left nowe for a sample.[1]

Agreed wth Jno Wise, shoemaker in marke lane, ffor

1 dussen pere sheues	of tens,	at 2^{s}. 7^{d}. a pere.
3 dussen	of 11,	
3 dussen	of 12,	
1 dussen pere	of 13,	
1 dussen pere	of 8,	at 2^{s}. 5^{d}. a pere.
1 dussen pere	of 9,	

10 dussen pere to bee dd by the 20th of this monthe.

[1] This was the armor of infantry. The corselet was sometimes called "a little cuirass," being for the breast and back, the culet for the lower part of the body, the gorget for the throat, and tasses for the thighs. The head piece of the infantry was also called a pot, thus indicating its shape. *Chambers's Dict.; Webster's Dict.; Myrick's Ancient Armor.*

The 9. Marche, 1628.

A.D. 1629. Mar. 9.

This day John Washborne Is Intertayned for secretary for one whole yeere, to enter the Courts, to keepe the Company's accounts, to make warrants for all moneys to bee brought in or payd out, & to geeue nottice at euery meeting of such as are backward in payment of there subscriptions; as also for all pruission to bee made Reddy, to Call vppon such as haue ye Chardge thereof, w^e^by the shippes nowe bound ffor Newe England may bee dispatched by the 25th [of] this month at ffurdest; his sallery ffor this yeere Is te [torn off] he in the premisses, & the office of a secretary, to prf[orme] ffaithfull, dilligent, & tre[ue i]ndeuours, wherevnt[o] he doeth fulley [accord &] agree. *John Washborne.*

This 9. Marche, 1628.

Agreed wth John Gace, of London, turner, ffor 40 Bandelee[rs, to bee of] neates Lether, broad girdles, ech wth 12 chargs, w^e^of one a priming [Box, to bee of] wood, couered wth black lether, at 2^s^ a peece, to bee dd next wee[ke], the boxes to bee for bastard muskett sise, excepting 10 for full musk[etts], and these to bee marked M. the other for bas^t^ musketts B.

Moreover, agreed wth him for ten dozen of shouels and spades, at Eyghten sh[illings] the dozen, of three severall sises, whereof the smalest propor[tion] to be of ye smalest sises; and three spads and thre shouels left heer for sa[mples.]

This day theise things were ordered to bee pruided [for] by theise men, [for] 120 mens pruissions.

m^r^. Thomas Hewson,
- 120 fflitches Bacon,
- 120 gallons sweete oyle,

m^r^. Depty,
- 150 qrtrs of meale,
- 30 qrtrs of pease, at 26^s^.
- 15 qrtrs of groates, at 4^s^. full dryed,
- 20 fferkins of butter, 17^s^.
- 60 qrtrs of malt, 17^s^. 6^d^.
- 30 C. of Cheese.

A.D. 1629. Mar. 10. This 10th. March 1628. I Thomas graues, of grauesend, in the Count[y] of Kent, gent., and by my prffession skilfull & experienced in the discoue[ry] and fynding out of Iron mynes, as also of Lead, coppr, minerall salt & allam, In ffortifficacons of all sorts, according to the nature of the plase, In surveying of buildings, & of lands, & in measuringe of Lan[d], In describing a Country by mappe, In leading of water[courses] to prpr vsses for Milles, or other vsses, In fynding out all sorts of Lymestones, and materials for buildings, In manufacturing &c. haue this present day agreed to serue the Newe England C[omp.] and in there ymplyment to take my passage for Newe Eng[land] in such shippe as thei shall appoynt mee; and during my s[tay] there, according to the Condicons hereafter expressed, to doe my true and vttermost Indeauour, in all or aney the prticulers abouemen[coned,] for the good and benefitt of the sayd Companie; and I do heereby faithfully prmisse to doe my vttermost Indeuour for the discouery of ought that may bee beneficiall to the Companie, and not to Conceale ought ffrom them whome I shalbee Inioyn[ed] to Reueale the same vnto, that may tend or Conduce to th[e] good & prffit of the sayd Companey; Neither that I shall or [will] disclose ought that they shall Inioyne me to keepe secrett, to an[y] man whomesoeuer; But in all things to bend my vttermost skyll and abillity to doe the companey the best, treue, & ffaithffull seruice I may or Cane prfforme. In Consyderacon whereof, the say[d] Companey are to beare all my Chardgs by sea into Newe Engla[nd,] together wth my Charges duringe my staie in there Implyments in N[ewe] England, & my charges at sea in my Returne home, apparrell on[ly] excepted, wch Is to bee allwaies at my owne Chargs; & It is [agreed,] moreouer, that from the tyme of my ffirst Landing in Newe Englan[d,] to the tyme of the Returne from thence for London of such shippe as shalbee sent from London next after michelmas next, and in wh[ich] I shall take my passage for London, that there shalbee allowed [vnto] me ffyve pounds for ech month that I shall contyneue in Newe [England,] as afore said, for my sal-

lery or wages, but nothinge to bee allowed [for] my Charges during the tyme of my beeing at sea, outward & [home;] wth this ffurder pruiso, that in Case the sayd Comp., [after I] shall haue Contynewed 6 or 8 monthes in the Cuntrey [aforesaid,] shall desyre my Continuance in [worn off] three yeeres from the [t]yme of my f[irst] arrival, [worn off] I will and doe hereby [a line or more at the bottom of the page worn off.] A.D. 1629.

[And the said Compy, in case it be] there intent to Retayne me in there seruice to the end of three yeeres, do heereby prmisse to bee at the Chardge of the transportacon into Newe England of my wiffe, ffyve Children, a boy & a mayd seruant; & wthall to build mee a Conuenient house for my selffe and my sayd ffameley, at there Chargs, and therto to assyne me One hundred acres of Land, and to haue prte thereof planted at the Companies Chardge against the Coming of my ffameley, whereby they may subsiste till I shall be possessed of my ffameley to prfforme the same, or otherwise to alloue me some Competency of necessary victualls for the subsistance of me and my ffameley till the next season of plantinge & Reapinge after there arryuall: and It is furder agreed, that yf I Contyneue in the Companies Implyments ffor three yeeres, the payment of ffyve pounds pr month ffor my sallery Is to bee vtterly voyde, and my yeereley allowance in money, ffrom the tyme of my ffirst arryuall in Neue England to the end of three yeeres, to bee after the Rate of ffyftey pounds by the yeere. Prouided alwayes that my sayd ffameley goinge ouer as aforesaid, there shalbee such a proporcon of Land allowed me for them heereafter as if they had nowe taken there passage wth mé in the shippes nowe bound for Newe England: and ffor furder Recompence for my treue & faithfull Indeauours in the sayd Companies Implyments, wch I doe prmisse with gods assistance to prfforme trulye & sincerely, to the best of my abillity and vnderstandinge, I doe & shall Referre my selffe wholey to the Companies discression, as my treue Indeuors and the suckcesse thereof, through gods mercy, shall Incorradge them to doe. In wytnesse of all the premisses

A.D. 1629. Witness heervnto, George Harwood, John Venn. I haue heervnto sett my hand and seale this present x^th^ daye of Marche, Ann^o^. 1628. in London. *Tho: Graues* [*seal*] [1]

The 10th. Marche, 1628.

Mar. 10. Present, The Gou^r^, m^r^. Depty, Capt. Ven, m^r^. Threr, m^r^. Vassall, m^r^. Eaton, m^r^. Adams, m^r^. Whetcomb, m^r^. Hutchins. A proposicon was made this day by Samuell Sharpe, who was formerley Interteyned to doe his Indeuour in the Companies Implyments concerning artillery bisines, as appereth the 3^d^. of this monthe, that all or the better part of his sallery might be p^d^. him nowe, to pruide him apparell wth all; & if he should happen to dye before he had des^r^ued it, his sd apparell should satisfye it; vppon debate whereof, It was thought ffitt that Twenty pounds should bee p^d^ him; and this to bee the trer^s^ warrant for payment thereof, vppon his sallery of 10^lb^ a yeere, ffor three yeeres; I say Twenty pounds to bee pd him presently.

This day being apoynted to take into Consyderacon towching the deuission of the lands in Newe England, where our first plantacon shalbee, It was, after much debate, thowght ffytt to Referre this buissines to the Gouernor, and a Comittee to bee chosen to that purpose to assist him; and whatsoeuer thei shall doe heerein that to stand ffor good.

This day order was geeuen to the Threr for payment of Twenty pounds more to m^r^. Jno Humphry, towr^ds^ Charges of our pattent; and this to bee his warrant ffor the payment thereof.

Capten Ven, m^r^. Eaton, m^r^. Samuell Vassall, & m^r^. Nowel, & m^r^. Whetcombe, or an[y] three [of] them, are Intreated once more to conferr wth m^r^. Jno Ouldam, [to see what] Comodacon may bee made twixt the Comp & him, y^t^ [their differences may be C]omodated.

[1] Apparently his own signature.

[12. March, 1628.] A.D. 1629. Mar. 12.

Present, mr. Wr[ight,] Sr. Rich. saltonstal, mr. Threr, mr. Nowel.

[mr. Jo]hn Browne, gent. and mr. Samuell Browne, of Roxtwell in Essex, [proposeing to] take their passage in the Comp. shipps ffor Neue England, at [their] Chardge, & Intending to plant there: It is agreed by theise [present,] that for there passage & dyett they shall pay ffyve pound[s each]; and that for there Incouragement Land shalbee allotted to the[m there,] as if they had subscribed fifty pounds in the generall stock, [with such] pryueledge as others that are in the pattent doe.

John Brow[ne,]
Samuell Bro[wne.] [1]

[O]f Bedfordshir, prish of Sutton.

Richard Claydon, aged 34 yeeres, or thereabouts, Carpenter, wh[o] beeing desirous to transport himselffe, his wiffe, one dawghter of [torn] yeeres ould, his sister of 14 yeere ould, his brother barnaby C[laydon,] aged 23 yeeres, & his brother in lawe Thoms hanscombe, ag[torn off] for Newe England in the Comp. shippes: It is prmised [this] daye, that he being abel to ffurnish 40lb towrds the ch[ardge] of him & his, what shalbee wantinge the Comp. wil[l supply;] vppon this Condicon, that vppon theire arryuall [in Newe] England what he shalbee Indebted to the Comp. shalbee [paid] by the labor of him selffe, & his 2 seruants or brothers afore[said,] allowing them all three 3s the day for so long tyme [untill] they haue pd this debtt, & in that tyme fynding [these] 3 prsons dyett at the Comp. Chardge, & whilest [he is] earning out this debt to Instruckt euery of the Comp. [servants,] in the trade of a plowe wright; & there is Land to bee [alotted] to him and his, as is vssuall, by the Comp. orders, to th[em] that transporte themselues; written this 12 Mar[ch,] 1628. *Richard Claydon.* [2]

Cannotte goe
this viodge —

[1] These appear to be their own signatures.

[2] Apparently his own signature.

A.D. 1629, Mar. 16.

The 16. March, 1628.

Bespoken by m^r^. Durbridge, at 2^s^. 7^d^. a pr, 6 dussen pere of shews, to bee dd this weeke, vz^t^.

1 dussen pere of tens, 4 pr dd
2 dussen per of 11,
2 of —— 12,
1 dussen pr of 13.

Bespoke of m^r^. maio, at $10\frac{1}{2}$^d^ pr. y^r^d, the 16th m^r^ch, 1628, ffor beds & boulst^r^s, 20 bed tikes, scotch tikeing, $\frac{3}{4}$ broad, $2\frac{1}{16}$ long, & $1\frac{1}{2}$ y^r^ds broad. 11 y^r^ds — each bed & boulster.

Bespoke the day abouesaid, 8 dussen pair neats leath^r^ shewes, of Rob^r^t Harret, 1 dussen 10, 3 dussen 11, 3 dussen 12, 1 dussen 13, } at 2. 7d. pr. pair, to bee good liquored neats leath^r^, accō to the pattrne.

Estimat of 100 *men, Chardge of them & theire pruissions, wth others noted.*

100 men, there Chardge 15^lb^. a man,		1500
freight of the shippe Tolbut, 5 monthes, 80^lb^. pr m°,	400	750
victualls & wages 32 men, 70^lb^. a monthe,	350	
The lyons whelpe sett to sea,		500
20 Cowes & Bulls, 4^lb^. a peece,	80	610
10 mares & horses, 6^lb^. a peece,	60	
Charges of theis,	470	3360

[17. March 1628]

Mar. 17. [Agr]eed wth [Joseph] Churchel ffor 100 swoords wth [decayed] blades, at 4^s^. 6^d^. a peece, to haue all chapes,[1] and 10 short swoords, at 2^s^. a peece, and polonia hilts, at 3^s^. 4^d^. as maney as wee like, to [be] dd w^th^in 8 dayes.

[1] A chape is the plate of metal at the point of the scabbard. *Bailey.*

Bowght of ffelix boreman, dwelling in ffleete Lane, A.D. 1629.

14 swoords, at 4s. 6d. apeece,
7 ditto, at 3s. a peece,
4 ditto, at 2s. a peece,
25 swoords. } 4lb. — 12 — 00

agreed wth mr. Raphe White, in philpot Lane, for 12 gallons aquavite, 2s. 6i. a gall.

12 sydes of bacon, dd by Jno. gladwing, at mr. goffs. of 74 stone ½, ech st. 8lb., at 2s. 5d. a stone.

17. Marche, 1628.

A warrant was made ffor payment of 120lb. to mr. Nathaniell Wright, for so much pd. by him to mr. Jarvis Kerke, Wm. barkley, & mr. Robrt Charlton, ffor the shippe. Mar. 17.

Also to pay ffor Iron & Steele.

Also to pay ffor Burrs to make milstones, 110 — 2s a pc,
bowght of Edward Casson, of Lo mrchantayler, 11. 0. 0
14 C. of plaster of parris, 18d. pr C. 1. 1. 0
12. 1. 0
& portridge, weigngs. plaster, & Casting out of the burrs, 12d. & 23i. } 3s.
12lb. — 4 — 00

The 19.th of march, 1628:

A warrant was made ffor payment of Twelue pounds and Twelue shillings vnto mr. gawen Helme and Thomas Brickhed, ffor Two Coppers ffor the lyons whelpe. I saye for — 12lb: & 12s. 00d. Mar. 19.

The 19.th of march, 1628.

A warrant was made for payment of Eyghtene pounds vnto mr. Browne, and is for one bayle of ffrench Cloth, ffor the Lyons whelpe. I saye ———— 18lb:

A.D. 1629. Mar. 19.

The 19.th of march, 1628.

A warrant was made for payment of Twenty ffive pounds, ffyfftene shillings, vnto m^r. Jno: Whitt, of Reddinge, for Thirtye quarters of maulte, to goe in ye shipps. } lb 26.05^s:[1]

I say 25^lb: 15^s. 00^d.

23^d. *March*, 1628.

Mar. 23.

[P]resent the [Go]u^rno^r, Deputy, [S^r. Ri]: Saltonstoll, [m^r. D]avinport, [Capt.] Venn, [m^r. H]umffry, [m^r. Wm] Vassall. [m^r. Whe]tcomb, [m^r. Nowe]ll.

At this meeting Intimation was given by m^r. Nowell, by letters ffrom m^r. Izake Iohnson, that one m^r. Higgeson, of Lester, an Able minister, prffers to goe to o^r plantation; who being approved for a reverend, grave minister, fitt for o^r present occations, it was thought by thes present to entreat m^r. Jno: Humfry to ride presently to Lester, and, If m^r. Higgeson may Conveniently be had to goe this present vioage, that he should deale wth him; ffirst, if his Remoove from thence May be w^Φout scandall to that people, and approved by the Consent of some of the best affected amonge them, wth the Approbation of m^r. Helder-sham,[2] of Asheby, dallisouch; Secondly, that in Regard of the shortnes of the time, the Companye conseave it would be best, if hee so thought good, to leave his wiffe & ffamily till towards bartholmew, for her better [accommo]dation; yet if [th]is should be held inConvenient, [it] may be reffered to himselfe to take [his wife and two children wth him; Thirdly, That for his entertaynment [ye company [worn and illegible.]

[1] So in the original.

[2] "Mr. Arthur Hildersham, the famous preacher of Asbby de la Zouch, who, though he was no way inclinable to the rigid separation, yet was very forward in this way to promote the forwarding of the gospel in America." *Hubbard. See account of him in Young's Chronicles of Mass.* p. 66.

[*The 23 March*, 1628.

A.D. 1629. Mar. 23.

This day, according to the teno^{r} of the charter, these persons following were sworne for the performance of their severall places and offices according to the teno^{r} of their severall oathes.

Mr. Thomas Goffe tooke the oath of Deputy to this Company, by the name of the Govr and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

Sr Richard Saltonstall, Captaine Venn, Mr. John Humfrey, Mr. Symon Whetcombe, Mr. Thomas Adams, Mr. Samuel Vassall, Mr. George Foxcrofte, Mr. Willm Vassall, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. Richard Perry, & Mr. Thomas Hutchins tooke the oath of Assistants to the said Companye.

Mr. George Harwood tooke the oath of Treasuro^{r}.

Humfrey Seale tooke the oath of Beadle.

A motion was made by the Governo^{r} that 6 of the Company would take the paynes as daylie to see when the Companyes servants are imployd, and how they demeasne themselves, to the end if there be cause such as shall be found idle or debosht may be dismissed; whereupon these following have promised to see the same performed; vizt:

Mr. Thomas Adams,	Mr. Increase Nowell,
Mr. Thomas Hughson,	Mr. George Foxcroft,
Mr. Daniel Winche,	Mr. Owen Rowe,
Mr. Thomas Hutchins,	Mr. Symon Whetcombe.

Thomas Beard, of St Martins, shoomaker, single man, aged 30 yeares, desirous to goe over at his owne charge, there is 50 acres of land to be assigned to him, by order of this Company, & 5^{li} payd by him for his passage to the Treasuro^{r}.

Wee William Riall and Thomas Braid, coopers: the Company hath agreed that they shall goe halfe, at the charge of Mr. Governor the one halfe, and at the charge of the Company the other halfe, and so the Governor is to appoint them men, the Governo^{r} one halfe and the Company the other halfe.

A.D. 1629. Mar. 28. It is agreed that every person that shall goe over at his owne charge shall have fifty acres of land.

Further, it is agreed, that if any of the Company send over any servants or others, they shall have fifty acres of land to be at their masters disposinge at their pleasure.

Mar. 24. Dd a bill to Mr. Brereton, for 12ll 15s 0, for a cable and 86 yards of sayle cloth, dd to the Lyons Whelpe.

Dd a bill to John *John* Gibes for 15ll, for disbursements for the Lyons Whelpe, & he to give account for it.

Dd a bill to John Wighte, for 30 qrs. of malte, at 17s 6d p qr, 26ll 5s 0.

Dd a bill to Robert Harrett, for 8 dussen of shooes at 2s 7d p pr, 12ll 8s 0d.

30 *March*, 1629.

1629. Mar. 30. Dd Mr. John Wise, shoomaker, a warrant for 18ll 4s, being for 12 dussen payre of shooes.

8 dussen pr, at 2s 7d a pr, . . . { 1 dussen of 13, 3 dussen of 12, 3 dussen of 11, 1 dussen of 10,

And 4 dussen of 8ths & 9nes, at 2s 5d a pr.

Dd John French a warrant for 3 dussen of Irish spades, at 3s 8d a peece, steele spades shodd cleane over.

John Slanie, plaisterer, doth desire you to pay unto his mother, Mary Slanye, the summe of twenty shillings w^th^in 10 dayes after the Company is a board, in parte of his wages, I say } 20s

JOHN SLAYNYES mark.

Witness, John Washbourne.

A warrant to Mr. Molton, for
To Mr. Robt Molton, a warrant for } . . . . 10ll.

A warrant to Mr. John Goose for . . . . . 13ll.

Dd a warrant to Mr. John Hughson, shoomaker, for . . . . . 22ll. 14s 6d.

Dd a warrant to Mr. Tayler, for worke upon the Lyons Whelpe, for . . . . . 30ll.

Dd a warrant to Mr. Clarke, in pt of caske d, . 30li. A.D. 1629.
Dd a warrant to Mr. Tanner, in pt of caske d, . 30li.

Warrants dd the 30th of March, for moneys to be payd to the Treasurr as followeth: —

Mr. Willm Backhouse,	25li	Mr. John Pococke, . .	25li
Mr. Owen Rowe, . .	25	Mr. George Foxcrofte .	25
Mr. John Bowles, . .	25	Mr. Daniel Hudson, .	25
Mr. Robert Crane, . .	25	Mrs. A. C., ...	25
Mr. Daniel Winche, .	25	Mr. Willm Crowther, .	25
Mr. Joseph Caron, . .	25	Mr. John Venn, . .	50
Mr. Richard Tuffnayle,	50	Mr. Richard Yonge, .	50
Mr. John Davenporte,	25	Mr. Thomas Hutchins,	25
Mr. Samuel Aldersey, .	75	Mr. Nathaniel Manesly,	25
Mr. Richard Poorye, .	25	Mr. Theophilus Eaton,	25
Mr. Nathaniel Wright,	25	Mr. Christofer Coulson,	25
Mr. Richard Davys, .	25	Mr. Charles Whitchcote,	50
Mr. Increase Nowell, .	25	Mr. Edward Forde, .	25
Mr. Edmond White, .	25	Mr. Samuel Vassall, .	50
Mr. John Humfrey, .	25	Mr. Simon Whitcombe,	85
Mr. Hugh Peter, . .	25	Mr. Edward Ironside, .	25
Mr. Joas Glover, . .	25		

1629. A Note of the Tooles provided & viewed by Willm Ryall.

2 barge axes, 2s a peece, ...	0	4s	0
2 howells, 1: 18d & 1: 12d, ...	0	2	6
2 two hollow tap bores & stockes to them, 18d a peece	0	3	0
2 bung bores, 2s a peece; too deare, 6d a pce, . .	0	4	0
2 pesters stockt, 8d a peece;			
1 adds of 2s; 1 other adds, 20d, is naught;			
2 felling axes, 2s the one, the other 18d, . . .	0	3	6
1 round shave	0	1	4
1 joynter iron, 1s; 2 smale irons for planes, 5d & 3d,	0	1	8
1 spoke shave, 8d; a knyfe, 8d.			
1 steele sawe, 3s 4d; 1 heading knife, 2s 6d, 6d too deare, ...	0	5	10

A.D. 1629. 1 marking iron; 1 hammer;
2 wimbles; 1 gowge; 1 skraper, 16^{d};
1 croze iron, 8^{d};
1 holdfast, 8^{d}; a drawing knife, 10^{d}, naught;
2 dussen of perser bitts;
1 broad axe, 2^{s} 8^{d}, 2^{d} too deare;
1 bill, 15^{d}; a cressin iron.
1 great cleaving iron.

Brought in by Willm Ryall.

1 croz wth an iron to it; a paire of compasses; 1 adds; 1 howell;
2 tap bores, 1 hollowe, 1 round; 1 barge axe; 1 shave.

Ordinance received of Mr. Edward Turvile, as followeth: —

16	2	0	16	2	0
16	2	0	12	2	0
16	2	0	12	01	0
16	3	0			
16	3	0	41	1	0
83	0	0	83	0	0
			124	1	0

at 13^{s} p C. is 80^{li} 15^{s} 3^{d}.

A warrant, dd to Mr. Trasuro^{r}, to pay the said money the 2^{d} of Aprill, 1629, to Mr. Turvile, for the ordinance abovementioned dd aboard the Lyons Whelpe.

A warrant dd unto Mr. Anthony Webster, the 2 of Aprill, 1629, for the summe of two pounds fifteene shillings, 2^{li}. 15^{s}.

The 2 of Aprill, 1629.

April 2. This day these persons following were psent: Mr. Mathewe Cradocke, Govr, Mr. Tho: Goffe, Deputy, Mr. George Harwood, Treasuro^{r}, and the rest following: Mr. William Vassall, Mr. John Browne, Mr. Francis Webb, Mr. Richard Perry, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. Thomas Adams, Mr. Sam: Vassall.

It is ordered that Mr. Moulton, carpenter, and two or three men are to goe to New England, and Mr. Governo^{r} is to beare a third of the charge of these men.

The 6th of Aprill, 1629.

A.D. 1629. April 6.

This day these persons in the margin mett and consulted.

Mr. Math: Cradocke, Gov[r],
Mr. Tho: Goffe, Dep[ty],
Sir Rich: Saltonstall,
Mr. Rich: Davys,
Mr. Sam: Vassall,
Mr. Sim: Whetcombe,
Mr. Yonge,
Mr. Tho: Adams,
Mr. Daniel Winch,
Mr. Owen Rowe,
Mr. George Foxcrofte,
Mr. Jo: Pococke,
Mr. Increase Nowell,
Mr. Coulson,
Mr. Rich: Perry,
Mr. Crane,
Mr. Trer,
Mr. Hughson,
Mr. W[m] Vassall,
Mr. Webbe,
Captaine Waller,
Captaine Venn.

It is agreed, that all the cattell that Mr. Governo[r] shall shippe shall be halfe for the Company and the other halfe for the Governo[r]'s use. Also, for sending the Lyons Whelpe to the Isle of Wight, and if she may have sufficient company to send her speedily, to appoint some to see the hay put a board.

These were appointed to be committees for making orders and power for meet goverment of New England, to write letters to Captaine Endicott, to order divisions of land and whatsoever may concerne the companyes affayres, and to appoint a Committee to joyne wth the Governo[r] any five of these wth Gov[r] or Deputy, to divide yo[r] company in familyes by the said Committee: —

Mr. Davenporte,	Mr. Adams,
Mr. Higgeson,	Mr. Eaton,
Mr. Waller,	Mr. Vassall,
Mr. Venn,	Mr. Coulson,
Sr. Richard Saltonstall,	Mr. Treasuro[r].
Mr. Wright,	

The Company is content to give unto Mr. Bright 5[li] towards his losse of his wages in the country, and his charge being in London.

Mr. Wright and Mr. John Browne tooke the oath of Assistants this day.

Appointed Mr. Deputy to gett the lord treasuro[r]'s letter to the customs.

Appointed to Mr. Whetcombe to gett the Exemplification of the Letters Patents.

To have such cattell changed as are unfit to carry.

The 8th Aprill, 1629.

A.D. 1629. April 8.

Present, at Mr. Trers, Sir Rich: Saltonstall, Mr. Davenporte, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Glover, Capt: Waller, Capt: Venn, Mr. Adams, Mr. Skelton, Mr. Bright, Mr. Coulson, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Whetcombe, Mr. W[m] Vassall, Mr. John Pococke.

Mr. Francis Higgeson and Mr. Samuel Skelton intended ministers for this plantacon, and it being thought meete to consider of their intertaynement, who expressing their willingnesse, together, also wth Mr. Francis Bright, being now present to doe their true endevour in their places of the ministery as well in preaching, catechizing, as also in teaching, or causing to be taught, the Companyes servants & their children, as also the salvages and their children, whereby to their uttermost to further the maine end of this plantation, being, by the assistance of Allmighty God, the conversion of the salvages, the proposicons concluded on wth Mr. Francis Bright, the 2 of February last, were reciprocally accepted of by Mr. Francis Higgison and Mr. Samuel Skelton, who are in every respect to have the like condicons as Mr. Bright hath, onely whereas Mr. Higgeson hath 8 children it is intended that 10[li] more yearely shall be allowed him towards their charge. And it is agreed that the increase of the improvement of all their grounds during the first 3 yeares shall be at the Companies disposing, who are to fynde them dyett during that time, and tenne pounds more to Mr. Higgeson towards his present fitting him and his for the voyage.

FRANCIS HIGGINSON.
SAMUEL SKELTON.

8 *Aprill*, 1629.

April 8. Touching Mr. Ralfe Smith, order was given to the Governor[r] to conferr w[th] him, and if he will give it under his hand not to exercise the ministery w[th]in the lymitts of our plan-

tation, neither publique nor private, w^th^out the consent and approbacon of the goverm^t^ there established by us, that then he shall be accommodated in his passage, and so as during his being w^th^in the lymitts of our plantation he promise not to disturbe our proceedings, but to submitt to such orders as shall be there established. A.D. 1629.

13 *Aprill*, 1629.

Present, The Govr, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Trer, Mr. Sam: Vassall, Mr. Tho: Adams, Mr. Wm Backhouse.

This day notice was given that Mr. Willm Backhouse had freely bestowed upon this Company to send for New England these bookes following, for wch thankes was given by the Governo^r^ and those present to the said Mr. Backhouse in the Companies behalfe. April 13.

The Englishe Bible in folio, of the last print;
The Booke of Common Prayer;
Aynsworths Works, in folio;
Bishop Babingtons Works;
Calvins Institutions;
Fotherby against Atheists;
Malderott upon St Johns Gospell;
A booke called the French Country Farme.

To provide to send for New England.

12 barrills powder, whereof 3 fine;
3 C. weight of shott for bastard muskets;
6 C. weight of shott for fowlinge;
1 fodder of lead;
Shott for the great ordinance, rammers, spunges, ladles, & wadhooke.

The 16th *of Aprill*, 1629.

Present, this day, Mr. Governor, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Adams, Mr. Browne, Mr. Bright,

Mr. Skelton's Note of Bookes. April 16.

1 Gerards Meditations, . .	0	1	2
1 Helpes to Faith, ...	0	0	9
1 Rogers Workes, ...	0	7	0
1 Donhams Guide, ...	0	10	0

A.D. 1629.

1 Aynsworth, ...	0	13	0
1 Downhams Warfare . .	0	13	0
1 Maire on the Epistles, . .	0	3	0
1 Dod on the Commandments,	0	2	2
1 Robinsons Essayes . . .	0	2	8
1 Dr. Berd of Antichrist . .	0	2	0
1 Practise of Piety	0	1	6
1 Dyke on the Heart, . . .	0	2	0
1 Of Conscience, ...	0	1	0
1 Downham on the Command-mts, ...	0	1	6
1 Communion p S[te], . . .	0	1	6
1 Arrow against Idolatry, .	0	0	6
1 Scudder on the Lords Prayer,	0	1	2
1 Helpe to Happinesse, . .	0	1	0
1 Scudders Directions, . .	0	1	6
1 Dr. Tayler, ...	0	1	0
	3	6	3

Chemnitij Harmon;
Pareus de Imaginibus;
Piscator in Genesin;
in Exod;
Deuteronomin;
in Chronic;
Samuel;
in Regum;
in Psalmos;
in Prophetas Minores;
in Proverbia & Cantica;
in Jobam;
in Isaiam;
Buxtorfij Synagoga Judaica;
Bellarminus Enervatus, 2 vol.
1 Ametii Medulla, 12;
Molerus.

Amount unto 3[li] 15[s].

A Note of the rest of the Bookes, 16th of April, 1629.

1 Scapula, ...	0	13	0
1 A Concordance, ...	0	15	0
1 Pareus in Rom:, ...	0	7	0
1 Dr. Wilcox Works, ...	0	6	0
1 Paget against Aynsworth, ...	0	2	6
1 Wemes his Image, ...	0	2	0
1 Bernard against Brownists, ...	0	1	8
1 A Bible, ...	0	6	0
1 Raising Brownisme, ...	0	0	8

A.D. 1629.

1 Moses Unvayled, ...	0	1	4
1 Popish Glorying, ...	0		
1 Clenards Grammer, ...	0	1	6
1 Camdens Grammer, ...	0	1	2
1 Esp. Greeke & Latin.	0	1	2
2 Ainsworths Psalmes, ...	0	1	4
2 dussen & ten Catechismes, ...	0	3	0
1 Rider London, ...	0	7	0
	3	10	4

16 *Aprill*, 1629.

[Copy of the] Lord [Treas-] uro's warrant.

80 women & mayds;
26 children;
300 men wth victualls, armes, & tooles, & necessary apparell for them;
12 faggotts of steele;
5 tunnes of iron;
340 hheads of meale;
120 hhds of malte;
64 q^rtrs of pease;
60 waie of cheese;
80 waie of salt;
60 firkins of butter;
140 head of cattell, wth hay & provender for them;
40 goats;
40 hhds of beife & pork;
8 pieces of ordinance;
40 barrills of powder;
200 musketts;
60 pykes;
3 fother of lead.

In merchandize of severall kyndes, as kettles, bugles, spoones, knives, scissers, combes, linnen, and woollen cloath and other things, in all the value of 350^li.

After my hearty commendations. Whereas his ma^ty, in and by his letters patents, under the greate seale of England, bearing ——

A.D. 1629. April 27. Present, this day, Mr. Gov[r], Mr. Trer, Mr. Adams, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Crane, Mr. Burnet, Mr. Warren, Mr. Backhouse, Mr. Webb, Mr. Deputy, Sir Rich: S[altonstall,] Mr. W[m] [Vassall,] Mr. H[ughson,] Mr. Whe[tcombe,] Mr. Pincheon, Mr. Winche, Mr. Colbron, Mr. Ballard,

The 27th of Aprill, 1629.

A warrant dd this day to Mary Slaynie, for 20[s].

Mr. Pincheon was sworne unto the Company Assistant.

The letters that are written unto Captaine Endicott are approved of, and copies of them to be taken notice of.

The 30th of Aprill, 1629.

April 30. Present, this day, Mr. Governor, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Trer, Mr. Adams, Mr. Foxcroft, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Huson, Mr. Pincheon, Mr. Humfreys, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Sam: Vassall, Mr. Sam: Aldersey, Mr. W[m] Vassall, Mr. Rich: Perry, Mr. Tho: Walgrave, Mr. Herbert Pelham.

Dd a warrant unto Richard Trott for 2 seales in silver, the summe of . 5[li]

To Mr. John Clarke for . . . . 5[li] 4[s].

Unto Richard Bowry for two parts of his argreement, ... 12[li].

To Mr. Thomas Prince, ... 6[li] 4[s].

It is agreed for the three shippes that are to goe forth now for New England, the one halfe of the charge to be the Governors, and the other to be at the Companies charge.

The letters read, w[ch] were sent in the George & Talbut, and confirmed.

Mr. Samuel Aldersey tooke his oathe of Assistant.

Mr. John Endecott and Mr. Samuell Sharpe being both put to election for Governo[r] of the Plantation in the Mattachusetts Bay, Captaine John Endecott was chosen by a full and free election for the yeare following to be Governo[r], and the yeare to begin from the time he shall take his oath.

Mr. Francis Higgenson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, [Mr. Francis Bright,] Mr. John Browne, Mr. Samuel [Browne] Sharpe, or any one of them, but in case of all their absence, Abraham Palmer or Elias Styleman are to administer the oath sent herewith, to the said Governo[r], Mr. Endecott, for the execution of his place.

Mr. Francis Higginson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, [Mr. Francis Bright,] Mr. John Browne, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr.

Thomas Graves, Mr. Samuel Sharpe, these by free election of hands were chosen to be of the counsell of the Mattachusetts Bay for the yeare ensuing, after they have taken their oaths, to assist the Governo[r], Captaine John Endecott, or his deputy, being such as shall be thereto chosen. A.D. 1629.

By erection of hands the old planters there that will live under our goverment are hereby authorized to choose 2 of the discreetest men among themselves to be of the Counsell; but in case they refuse, then the Governo[r], or Deputy, and the 7 of the Counsell abovementioned, or the major parte of them, are to choose 2 in lieu of them to be of the Counsell.

By erection of hands the Governor, or Deputy, and the 7 of the Counsell abovenamed, or the major parte of them, are to choose 3 more, to be of the Counsell, such as they shall esteeme fittest thereto.

It is ordered that the Governo[r] and the Counsell, or the major parte of them, shall choose a Deputy Governo[r] for the yeare ensuing, to assist the Governo[r] and the Counsell in his absence, and that the Governo[r] shall give the Deputy and the Counsell their oaths appertayning to their places, a coppy whereof is sent herewith.]

All the matter included in brackets, beginning with page 27 and ending here, is wanting in the original MS., and is supplied from an early copy now (in 1857) brought to light.

30[th] *Aprill*, 1629.

It is ffurder ordered by theise present, that the Gou[r]n[r], Depty, & Counsell afforesayd, or the major pte of them, sh[all] make Choise of a secretary, & such other officers as sh[all] in there discressions seeme Requesyte & neydffull, ffor [the] peasable & quyet Gouerment of the Plantacon; and [shall] frame such oeths, and administer the same to euery of them, for the execucon of his plase & office for th[e] yeere Insuing next after they shall haue taken th[eir] oethes, as they in there discressions, or the greter number [of] them, shall thinke good. And it is ordered, that the sd Gou[r]n[r], Deputie, Councell, & other officers aforenamed, shalbe established and continued in their seu[r]al places for one whole yeare, or vntill April 30.

A.D. 1629. this Court shall thinke fitt to chuse others in the place or places of them, or any of them: & in case of death, &c.

It is ffurder ordered, that the s[d] Gou[r]nor, Mr. Endecott, or his [Deputie,] & the s[d] Counsell, beeing Chosen as afforesayd, & hauing tak[en the] oethes Respectyueley to there plases, or the greater number, whereof the Gou[r]nor or dep[ty] to bee alwayes one, at aney there Meetings, (wch the sayd gou[r]nor at his discression, or in his absence the Dep[ty], is he[reby] authorized to apoynt, as oft as there shalbee occasyon,) shall haue ffull power & authority, [and they] are heerby awthorized by power deryued from his [Maiesties] Letters pattents, to make, ordeyne, & establish, all m[anner] of wholsome & Resonable orders, Lawes, statuts, ordinances, [directions] & Instrucktyons, not Contrary to the Lawes of the Relme of England, ffor the present gouerment of our plantacon, & the Inhabitants residinge w[th]in y[e] Lymitts of o[r] plantacon; a coppy of all wch orders is from tyme to tyme to bee sent the comp[any in England.]

It is ordered by theis presents, that A coppye of the acts & orde[rs] made this present day for setteling the gouerment in the plantacon of the Massatchusetts bay aforesayd, shalbee fayreley Ing[rossed] & sent vnder the Companies seale, subscribed by the Gouer[nor] & Depty, by the speedyest Conueyance for Newe England [y[t] can] bee had.

All this Conffirmed by erection of hands.

Mr. Walgraue, Mr. Pelham, & Mr. Humphry, & Mr. Nowel, are Intreated [to] fframe the forme of the oeth for the gou[r]nor, Mr. Endeco[tt,] also for his dep[ty], & for the Counsell; wch [are to bee] sent ou[r] & bee administred them in Neue England.

Thursday the 7[th] may, 1629.

May 7. Present,
The gou[r],
Mr. Dep[ty],
Mr. Aldersey,
Mr. Addams,
Mr. Hutchins,
Mr. Cowlson,
Mr. Nowell,
Mr. Humphry,
Mr. Tho: Pulyston.

The last Court was Read, and Confirmed by these prese[nt.]

A fforme of an oeth for the Gouerno[r] beyond the seas, [&] of an oeth for the Counsell there, was drawen & dd to [Mr.] Humphry, to sheue to Counsell.

Lrs are to bee written about Lands to bee allotted to ech aduenturer; also about m^r. Fra: Webbs buiseynes for a mill, ets. A.D. 1629.

To haue those punnished beyond seas that sell guns.

To haue some men's lands layd together.

the 11.th *of maye*, 1629.

[Prese]nt this day,
[m^r. De]puty,
m^r. tresurer,
[S^r Ri]ch^d: Saltinstall,
[m^r.] Addams,
[m^r.] Nowell,
[m^r. H]utchins,
[m^r.] Humfryes,
[m^r.] Wm Vassell,
[m^r. P]eeters,
[m^r.] Pinchen,
[mr. ffoxcr]afte.

This day m^r. Ouldum propounded vnto m^r. White that he would have his patten[1] examined, and its agred by the Courte not to haue any treatye wth him about it, by resone its thought he doth it not out of loue, but out of some synister respect. May 11.

a warent dld vnto m^r. Seale for x dozen & two hats, at ijs pr dozen, for the some of ——— } 20^s iiij^d

The 13th *of maye*, 1629.

[Pre]sent this day,
[m^r.] Gouerno^r,
[m^r.] Dep^ty,
[m^r.] Tresurer,
[m^r.] Glouer.

Dld a warrant vnto Richard Bowry fo^r Twelve pounds xij^lb. 0^s as ⅔ pts of 18^lb., the other ⅓ beeing to bee p^d pr the Gou^rnor, & is May 13.

[1] His patent.

Oldham seems to have troubled the Company as much by the extravagant financial schemes he proposed to them, as by his claim of title to a portion of their territory; so they concluded to "leave him to his own way" in both particulars.

In the Company's letter of instructions to Endicott and his Council, April 17th — 21st, which will be found in a subsequent part of this volume, they say that he demanded liberty to trade for beaver with the natives, on his own account; and this being denied him, he was, with some others, engaged in providing a vessel for New England, claiming a title and right from Sir Ferdinando Gorges' son, which they are well satisfied by good counsel is void in law. This claim was under a grant from John Gorges, to him and John Darrell, of all the lands in Massachusetts Bay between Charles River and Abousett (*Saugus*) River, containing in length, by a straight line, five miles up Charles River into the main land northwest from the border of the said Bay, and three miles from the mouth of Abousett River, into the main land, upon a straight line southwest, and all the land in breadth and length between the said rivers, with all the prerogatives, royal mines excepted. See *The Company's Letter;* and *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 15, *n.* By reference to the map it will be seen that the above description does not accord with the courses of the rivers that are named as boundaries.

A.D. 1629.

[Sr] Rich: Saltingstall,
[mr.] Addams,
[mr.] Offield,
[mr.] Whetcombe,
[mr.] ffoxcraft,
[mr.] Wm. Vassall,
[mr.] Perry,
[mr.] Nowell,
[mr.] Pinchen,
[mr.] Hutchens,
[mr.] Hewson,
[mr.] Backhowse,
[mr.] Ballard,
[mr.] Crowther,
[mr.] Whichcote,
[mr.] White,
[mr. P]eeters,
[mr. Cr]ane,
[mr. Hum]phry,
[mr. Sam: Vas]ell.

for his apprentice, Robrt Seale, his tyme. mr. mathew Cradocke is this daye Chosen by the Consent of the generallity of ye Company to be governor to the New England company for the yeare followinge. mr. Thomas Goffe, Deputy; also mr. George Harwood, tresurer to the said Company.

The assistants being this day to bee Chosen, 2 of the former assistants menconed in the pattent, vizt mr. Jno Endecott & mr. John Browne, beeinge out of the land, the other 16. were Confyrmed, viz.t sr. Rich: Saltonstall, mr. Izaack Jonson, mr. Samuell Aldersey, mr. John Ven, mr. Jno Humphry, mr. Symon Whetcombe, Increase Nowel, Rich: perry, Nathaniell Wright, Sam: Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Addams, Tho: Hutchins, George ffoxcroft, Wm Vassall, & wm pinchion; and to make vp the Nombr of 18. mr. John Pocock & mr. Chr: Cowlson were Chosen assistants; and of theise all, exceptinge mr. Iz: Jonson, Sam: Aldersey, Jno. ven, Nathaniel wright, Sam: vassal, Theophilus Eaton, & Chr: Cowlson, tooke there oethes aprtayning.

Wm Burges, Humphry Lewes, Jno Washborne, & Lawrence Roe, beeing all putt in election for the plase of secretary, by a free election mr. w.m burges was Chosen secretary for the yeere ensuinge.

Humphry Seale chosen & sworen beadle.

It is this day ordered, that whensoeuer any Court of assistants shalbee sumoned, whosoeur of the assistants Comes not, twixt 25. mch & 29. of Septembr, before eight of ye clock in ye morning, & from 29. 7br to 25 mch, before 9 of ye Clock in the morning, shall forfett twelue pence for euery such offence; & if he Come not wthin towe howers after either of the sd howres Respectyueley, then towe shillings for euery defalt;

ech man to fforffett & pay, & for want of payment wthin [blank] daies after demand made by the officer [of] the Comp, the ffyne doble, to bee sett vppon his accomte; alwayes [worn] vppon [worn] of the Gou'n[or] [worn] no full ex [worn] approba[tion] A.D. 1629.

The 13 *May*, 1629.

It is also agreed, that for aney y^t^ shall haue pryuat Conferen[ce,] after ye Court Is summoned by the Gou'nor or his depty knocking of the hamer thrice on the table to sitt downe & attend ye Court, that six pence by euery prson for euery such offence shalbee *payd.* May 13.

It is agreed, that three pounds shalbee p^d^. Jno. Washebourne for his paynes as secretary to the Companie for the tyme past.

The Names of the Gou'no^r^, Deputie, Treasurer, and Assistants, for the yeare 1629, *& other Officers.*

Mr. Matthew Cradocke, *Gou'no^r^.*
Mr. Tho. Goffe, *Deputy;* Mr. George Harwood, *Treasurer.*

Assistants.

Sr. Richard Saltonstall,	Mr. Samuell Vassall,
Mr. Isack Johnson,	Mr. Theophilus Eaton,
Mr. Sam. Aldersey,	Mr. Thomas Adams,
Mr. John Venn,	Mr. Thomas Hutchins,
Mr. John Humfrey,	Mr. Georg Ffoxcroft,
Mr. Symon Whetcombe,	Mr. Willm Vassall,
Mr. Increase Nowell,	Mr. Willm Pinchion,
Mr. Richard Perry,	Mr. John Pocock,
Mr. Nathaniell Wright,	Mr. Christopher Cowlson.

William Burgis, *Secretary.*
Humphrey Seale, *Beadle.*

A.D. 1629. May 18.

Present,
Mr. Gou^rno^r,
Mr. Deputie,
Sr. R. Saltonstall,
Mr. Geo. Harwood, Trer,
Mr. Jno Humphrey,
Mr. Tho. Adams,
Mr. Sym. Whetcombe,
Mr. Ri. Perry,
Mr. Jo. Pocock,
Mr. Geo. ffoxcroft.

At a Court of Assistants, on Munday, the 18th of May, 1629.[1]

William Burgis, chosen by the last gen^rall Court to bee Secretarie for the yeare ensuinge, was now admitted & sworne accordingly, vpon the Salarie of xx Marks from the day hee was chosen, for the s^d. yeare.

The Acts made at a Court the 30th of Apr. last, for chusing & establishing a Gou^rno^r, Deputie, Councell, & other officers in New England, was now read; and this Court thought fitt to add thervnto, that they shalbe established in their sd seu^rall places for one whole yeare, or till such tyme as the Company heere shall thinke fitt to chuse others in the places of them, or any of them; and that in case any of them shall deprt this lyfe before th'xpiracon of the tyme they were soe chosen for, that the Gou^rno^r, or deputie and Councell, at an ample Court assembled, shall haue power to nominate & chuse fitt prson or prsons to succed him or them soe deceased in the said place or places for the residue of the tyme vnexpired.

Mr. Humphreys & Mr. Addams are desired to meete and consider what prvisions are fitt to bee now sent over to Capt. Jo. Indicott & his ffamylie, and to prvyde the same accordingly.

The names of all the Adventurers to bee now sent over, wth the seu^rall somes by them vnderwritten: And it is Ordered that the Gou^rno^r and Councell there shall haue power to allott vnto every prticuler Adventurer that shall desire the same by himself or his assignees, 200 Acres of land vpon the some of 50^lb Adventure in the gen^rall Stock in this first devident, &

[1] Between the last entries made by John Washborne, on the 13th of May, and those commenced by William Burgess, at the present date, a considerable number of leaves were originally left blank. Upon these were afterwards written the final draft of the Acts and Orders for establishing the government at Salem, the Orders for the allotment of lands, and numerous forms of oaths, some bearing a date as late as 1634. The paging of the original Record Book commences in the midst of these irregular entries, probably begun before the leaves were written upon. The new secretary seems to have thought it proper to distinguish the proceedings of the company, after the first general election under the charter, from previous transactions.

prportionably for more or less according to their seuerall Adventures. A.D. 1629.

And Mr. Gou^rno^r, Deputie, Mr. Whyte, & Mr. Addams, & Mr. Whetcombe, are to meete at Mr. Gou^rno^rs house to morro[w] morning at six of the Clock, to advise & conclude of this business.

The 19th of May, 1629.

Mr. Gou^rno^r, Mr. Whyte, Mr. Whetcombe, Mr. Adams. May 19. Concerning the allottm^t of land to those prsons as are aduenturers in the Comon Stock, It is thought fitt that lres be writt to the Gou^rno^r to sett out & allott vnto them after the prporcon of 200 ac: of land ffor 50^lb aduenter, & after y^t Rate for more or less, to the Intent to build their houses & to Improoue there labors thereon; and if wthin 10 dayes after their arrivall, & demand made by aney prticuler aduenturer in ye Comon stock, or his seruant ffor him, th[e] same be not soe allotted, then each man, being an Adventurer, Is heereby prmitted ffree Liberty to build in aney plase where himselfe shall thinke most Convenient, wth Reseruacon not to build or manure that alreddy built on or manured; pruided y^t if the plott of ground whereon the towne Is intended to bee built bee sett out, y^t it bee publiqueley knowne to bee intended for that purpose, that then noe man shall presume to build his howse aney where else, (vnless it bee in the Massachusetts bay,[1] and there according to such directions as shalbee thowght meete for that plase,) but in Case his allotment be not sett out wthin in the towne where he shall build, & hauing [In] his owne name, or in the behalfe of his master, made request to the Gou^rnor to haue the same assigned to him, if it bee not wthin 10 daies after his arryuall, It shalbee ffreey ffor aney In such Case, beeing an adventure^r in the Comon stock, to build his howse wthin the fores^d plott of ground sett out for the towne to bee built on, & to Impale to his owne vsse preporconable to halffe an acre of ground for 50^lb adventer in ye Comon stock, vnless a greter or lesser preporcon be formerly determyned of by the Gou^rnor & Counsell;

[1] This name, though sometimes more comprehensive, generally included only the country lying around the inner bay, usually called Boston harbor, from Nahant to Point Alderton. *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 27; *Young's Chronicles*, p. 4.

A.D. 1629. In wch Case that prporcon Is to be made vse of & appropriated to ech man wthin ye liberties of ye plott sett out ffor the towne to bee built [on.] and It is ordered, that Conueyance bee made in ye Companies name, wth the Comon seale of the Comp. to it, to aney y^t^ shall desire it, for ech mans peasa[b]le Inioying of ye land he holds, at the Chardge of the Company.

It is further thought fitt, & Ordered, That all such prsons as goe over at their owne Charge, and are adventurers in the Comon stock, shall haue lands allotted to them for themselues and their families forthwth, 50 Acres of land for each prson; but being noe Adventurers in the Comon stock, shall haue 50 Acres of land for the Mr.[1] of the familie, & such a prporcon of land more, if there bee cause, as, according to their Charge & qualitie, the Gou^r^no^r^ & Councell of new England shall thinke necessary for them, wherby their charge may bee fully & amply supported; vnless it bee to any wth whom the Company in London shall make any other prticuler agreem^t^, to wch relacon is to bee had in such case.

And for such as transport servants, land shalbe allotted for each servant, 50 Acres to the Mr.; wch land the Mr. is to dispose of at his discression, in regard the servants transportacon Wages, &c. is at the Mrs. charge.

May 21. Present,
Mr. Gou^r^nor,
Mr. Goff, deputie,
Mr. Harwood, Trer.
Mr. Addams,
Mr. Whichcoyte,
Mr. ffoxcroft,
Mr. Eaton,
Mr. Bilson,
Mr. Th. Huson,
Mr. Jno. Nouell,
Mr. Humphrey,
Capt. Waller,
Mr. Hutchins.

A Court of Assistants, on Thursday, the 21th of May, 1629.

Mr. Eaten tooke the Oath of Assistant. And hee is desired to accompany Mr. Humphrey to Mr. Whyte, the Councello^r^, to bee satisfied concerning the administerg^n^ Othes to the Gou^r^no^r^ & Councell in New England. Mr. Whetcombe is also desired to bee wth them.

The Court of the 18.th of May was now read, as also the Order conceived by Mr. Gou^r^no^r^ & others concerning the allottm^t^ of Lands, & a prt of the letter form^r^ly written in this prticuler was confirmed;[2] whervnto

[1] It should be remembered that our word Mister was originally *Master*, and commonly so pronounced at the period of this record.

[2] The letter here referred to cannot be the one written to Endicott on the 17th and 21st of April, as a note in the margin of the record appears to indicate, and as has

this Court thought fitt to add, if wthin 10 dayes after arrivall of these shipps, & demand made by any prson, Adventurer in the Com Stock, or his or their servant, of their allottm[t] of land, the same not being done, that in a convenyent place not form[r]ly built nor manured then each prson be prmitted to seate himselfe, & build his house, & inc[l]ose the same to his or their vse, not exceeding the one halfe of that prporcon wch by the form[r] Order of this Court is allowed; and when the devydent is made to bee free to make his choice w in the said allottm[t] if hee dislike that hee had form[r]ly chosen. A.D. 1629.

It is thought fitt that the Secretary draw out at larg[e] the Orders concerninge the Establishm[t] of the Gou[r]no[r] & Councell in New England, as also the Order made concerning the allottm[t] of lands: And Mr. Gou[r]no[r], Mr. deputie, Mr. Trer, Mr. Addams, Mr. Eaten, Mr. Hutchins, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Whetcombe, Mr. W[m]. Vassall, or any 4 of them, wherof the Go[r] or deputie to bee alwayes on[e,] are desired & appointed to meete & resolue of these Order[s,] & to affix the Companyes Seale thervnto; as also for prparing Lres to bee now written, & to [resolve] & determine of all other busines requisite for dispatc[h] of these Shipps.

Present, Mr. Gou[r]no[r], Deputie, Mr. Adams, Mr. Humphrey.

A Meeting at the Gou[r]no[rs] house, on ffryday, the 22th of May, 1629.

The Orders drawne for the stablishm[t] of the Gou[r]no[r], deputie, & Councell, & other officers in the Plantacon at th[e] Mattachusetts Bay in New England, as also the Orders f[or] the devyding & allottm[t] of land there to the Adventurer[s] & others, were now read, advised on, Corrected, and concluded on, &c. Togeather wth the Gen[r]all Lre from the Company heere to the Gou[r]no[r] & Councell ther[e.] All wch are appointed to bee fairely engrossed, and the said Orders to bee Sealed wth the Comon Seale of the Companie, and sent over vpon the Shipps now ready to deprt for new England. May 22.

been stated by others; for all that is said on the subject in that letter is, that the Company intend to send instructions respecting it in their next. The reference is probably to a letter drawn up in consequence of the resolutions passed at the two preceding meetings, which, as amended and confirmed at this meeting and the next, was sent with "the General Letter," dated May 28th.

A.D. 1629. [These are the orders referred to on page 37, as they are engrossed on one of the leaves left blank by Secretary Burgess before commencing his records.]

A Gen^rall Court holden at London, the 30th day of Aprill, 1629, by the Gou^rno^r & Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England.

Apr. 30. Wheras the Kings most Excellent Ma^ty: hath bin gratiously pleased to erect & Establish vs, by his lres Pattents vnder the great Seale of England, to bee a body Corporate, entytuled the Gou^rno^r & Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, and therby hath endowed vs wth many large & ample pruiledges & imunities, wth power to make good & wholsome Lawes, Orders, & Ordinances, for the better maintenance & support of the said Pruiledges, and for the better & more Orderly & regular Gou^rnm^t, to bee obserued in the prsecucon & prpragacon of o^r intended voyages & the Plantacon there, authorising vs to nominate & appoint & select fitt prsons amoungst o^rselues for the managing Ordering & Gou^rning of o^r affaires, both in England & in the places specified & graunted vnto vs by vertue of his Ma^ts: said Charter; Wee haue, in the prsecucon of the said power & authoritie giuen vs, & in conformitie there vnto, & to the purpose & intent therof, & not otherwise, thought fitt to settle & establish an absolute Gou^rnm^t: at o^r Plantacon in the said Mattachusetts Bay in New England; wch, by the Vote & consent of a full & ample Court now Assembled, is thought fitt & Ordered, as followeth, (viz.)

That thirteene of such as shalbe reputed the most wyse, honest, expert, & discreete prsons, resident vpon the said Plantacon, shall from tyme to tyme, & at all tyme hereaft[er,] haue the sole managing & Ordering of the Gou^rnm^t: and o^r affaires there; who, to the best of their Judgm^ts, are to endeavo^r soe to settle the same, as may make most to the Glory of God, the furtherance & advancem^t: of this hopeful Plantacon, the Comfort, encouragm^t: & future benefitt of vs & others, the beginn^rs & prsecuto^rs of this soe laudable a worke; The said 13 prsons, soe appointed, to bee entytled by the name of the Gou^rno^r & Councell of London's Plantacon in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England.

And hauing taken into due consideracon the Meritt, Worth, & good desert, of Capt. John Endecott, & others lately gone over from hence wth purpose to resyde & continue there, Wee haue, wth full consent and authoritie of this Court, & by ereccon of hands, chosen & elected the s^d Capt: John Endecott, to the place of p^rsent Gou^rno^r in o^r said Plantacon.

Also, by the same power, and wth the like full & free consent, wee haue chosen and elected Mr. ffra: Higgeson, Mr. Sam: Skelton, Mr. ffr: Bright, Mr. John Browne, Mr. Sam: Browne, Mr. Tho: Graues, & Mr. Samuell Sharpe, these seaven, to bee of the said Councell; and doe hereby giue power & authoritie to the s^d Gou^rno^r, & those seaven, to make

choice of 3 others, such as they or the greater nomb: of them in their dis- A. D.
crecons shall esteeme & conceive most fitt therevnto, to bee also of the 16 .J.
said Councell.

And to the end that the formr Planters there may haue noe iust occasion of excepcon, as being excluded out of the pruiledges of the Company, This Court are content, & doe Order, by ereccon of hands, that such of the said formr Planters as are willing to liue wthin the Lymitts of or Plantacon, shalbe enabled, & are hereby authorized, to make choice of 2 such as they shall thinke fitt, to supply & make vpp the nomb: of 12 of the said Councell; one of wch 12 is by the Gournor & Councell, or the Maior pt of them, to bee chosen deputie to the Gournor for the tyme being.

And further, the Court doth authorize & giue power to the said Gournor & Councell, or the Maior prt of them, (wherof the Gournor or Deputie to bee alwayes one,) to make choice of a Secretary, & such other suburdinate officers to attend them at their Courts, Meetings, or otherwise, &c. as in their discrecons shall seeme meete & needfull;

And to the end that every one of the forenamed Officers, aswell Gournor, deputie, & Councell, as others who they shall thinke fitt to nominate & chuse, may bee the more carefull in prformance of the Charge comitted vnto them, It is by this Court thought fitt & Ordered, that each of them shall take an Oath, prper to that place hee shalbe elected & chosen to, wch is to bee administred vnto him or them, at the tyme of his or their elleccon or admittance into the said seurall place or places.

And we doe hereby authorize

to administer vnto the Gournor the Oath to his place apprtaininge,[1] and that the Gor, having taken his Oath as aforesaid, shall administer the Oath to the deputie apprtaining to his place. And wee doe further hereby authorize the Gournor, or deputie, or either of them, to administer the Oath to the rest of the Councell, and vnto all others the seurall officers respectively; wch said Oathes are to bee administred in a publique Court, and not elswhere.

It is further concluded on, & Ordered by this Court, that the said Gournor, deputie, & Councell, before named, soe chosen & established in their seurall places, shall continue & bee confirmed therin for the space of one whole yeare from & after the taking the Oath, or vntill such time as this Court shall thinke fitt to make choice of any others to succeed in the place or places of them or any of them.

And if it shall please God that any of them, or any others to bee hereafter chosen to any office there, shall deprt this lyfe before th'xpiracon of the tyme they were soe chosen, or for any misdemeanor or vnfittnes shalbe held vnmeete for the place hee was formrly chosen vnto, that then the

[1] Hubbard says the oath was to be administered by Mr. Higginson, Mr. Bright, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. J. Browne, and Mr. Sharpe. In case of their absence it was to be done by Abraham Palmer and Elias Stileman. *Hist of N. E.* p. 122.

A.D. 1629. Gou^rnor, or deputie & Councel[l,] or the greater nomber of them, at an ample Court assemb[led,] shall haue power, and hereby are authorized, not only to remove & displace such vnfitt prson or prsons, but also to nominate & choose a fitt prson or prsons to succeed him or them soe deceased, remoued, or displaced, as aforesaid, into the said place or places, for the residue of the tyme vnexpired.

And it is further agreed on & Ordered, that the Gou^rnor for the tyme beeing shall haue power, & is heereby authorized, to call Courts & meetings, in places & at tymes convenyent, as to his discrecon shall seeme meete; wch power is heereby also conferred vpon the deputie in the absence of the said Gou^rnor; and the said Gou^rnor or deputie, togeather wth the said Councell, being chosen & assembled as aforesaid, and hauing taken their Oaths respectively to their seu^rall places, They, or the great^r nom^r. of them, wherof the Gou^rnor or deputie to bee alwayes one, are authorized by this Act, grounded on the Power derived from his Ma^ts: Charter, to make, Ordaine and establish, all mann^r of wholsome & reasonable lawes, Orders, Ordinances, & Constitucons, (soe as the same bee noe way repugnant or contrary to the lawes of the Realme of England,) for the administring of Justice vpon Malefacto^rs, and inflicting condigne punishm^t: vpon all other offendo^rs, and for the furtherance and prpagating of the said Plantacon, and the more decent & Orderly Gou^rnm^t: of the inhabitants resydent there.

The Oath of the Gou^rnor in New England.

also to bee administred to the deputie.

You shalbe faithfull and Lyall vnto o^r Souraigne Lord, the Kings Ma^ty, & to his heires & Successo^rs; you shall support and maintaine, to yor power, the Gou^rnm^t: & Company of the Mattachusetts Bay, in New England, in America, & the p^rviledges of the same, haueing noe singular regard to yo^rselfe in derogacon or hinderance of the Comon wealth of this Company; and to every prson vnder yor authoritie you shall administer indifferent & equall iustice. Statutes & Ordinances shall you none make wthout th' advice & consent of the Councell for the Gou^rnm^t: of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England; you shall admitt none into the ffreedome of this Company but such as may clayme the same by vertue of the priuiledges therof; you shall not bynde yo^rselfe to enter into any business or prcess for or in the name of this Companie, w^thout the consent & agreem^t: of the Councell aforesaid, but shall endeavo^r faithfully & carefully to carry yo^rselfe in this place & office of Gou^rno^r, as long as you shall continue in it; and likewise you shall doe yor best endeavo^r to draw on the Natiues of this Country, called New England, to the knowledge of the True God, and to conserve the Planters, & others coming hether, in the same knowledge & feare of God; and you shall endeavo^r by all good meanes to advance the good of the Plantacons of this Companie, and you shall endeavo^r the rais-

ing of such Comodities for the benefitt and encouragmt of th' adventurers & Planters as, through Gods blessing on yor endeavors, may bee prduced for the good & service of the Kingdome of England, this Company and their Plantacons. All these prmises yow shall hold & keepe, to the vttermost of yor power & skill, soe long as yow shall continue in the place of Gournor of this fellowshipp, soe helpe yow God. A.D. 1629.

The Oath of the Councell in New England.

Yow Sweare to bee faithfull & Loiall to or Souraigne Lord, the Kings Matie:, and to his heires and Successors; yow shall from tyme to tyme giue yor best advice & Councell for supporting & maintaininge the Comon wealth & Corporacon of the Gournor & Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, not sparing for loue ne dread, for fauor nor meede, but according to the Statutes & Ordinances made, & to bee made, by vertue of the Charter of the said Companie, shall effectually assist the Gournor, or his deputie & Councell of the said Companie, in executing the said Statutes & Ordinances, haueing noe singular regard to yorselfe in derogacon of the Comon Wealth of the same; all these prmises yow shall hold & truely keepe, to yor power, soe long as yow shall continue in the place or office of one of the said Councell, soe helpe yow God.

At a Court of Assistants, on Thursday the 21th of May, 1629.

This Court taking into due & mature consideracon how necessary it wilbe that a devydent bee forthwth made of some competent quantitie of land in the london Plantacon in New England, both for the prsent accomodacon of the people lately gone thither, aswell to build them houses, as to inclose & manure & to feed their Cattle on, Haue thought fitt & Ordered, that the Gournor, deputie, & Councell there, shall make a devydent accordingly, and allott the same vnto the seurall Adventurs and others, as followeth, vizt. May 21.

That 200 Acres of land bee by them allotted to each Adventurer for 50lb Adventure in the Comon Stock, and soe after that rate, & according to that prporcon, for more or less, as the adventure is, to th' intent they may build their houses & improue their labors thereon.

That every Adventurer in the Comon Stock, or seruant for him, or on his behalfe, shall make request or demand to the Gournor or deputie & Councell, to haue a prporcon of land allotted vnto him accordingly; and if, wthin ten dayes after such request or demand made, the same bee not sett out & allotted vnto him, then such prson or prsons are, by vertue of this Act, prmitted and authorized to seate him or themselues, and build his or their house or houses, and inclose and manure ground, in any convenyent place or places not formrly built vpon or manured; prvyded that the land soe made choice of by any such prson or prsons doe not exceede

A.D. 1629. in quantytie the one halfe of the land wch is to bee allotted vnto him or them by devydent, according to this Order aboue written; wth libty also, when the first devydent shalbe made, to take his or their allottm[t] of land as others doe, in leiu of this, if in the meane tyme the first choice shalbe disliked by them or any of them. And for further explanacon of this Act, it is though[t] fitt, that if the Platt of ground wheron the Towne is to bee built bee sett out, and that it bee publiquely knowne to bee intended for that purpose, that then noe man shall prsume to build his house in any other place, (vnless it bee in the Mattachusetts Bay, and there according to such direccon as shalbe thought meete for that place;) and in case his allottm[t] for building his house wthin the Platt of ground sett out for building of the Towne bee not appointed vnto him wthin 10 dayes after demand or request to the Gou[r]no[r] or the deputie & Councell for the same, it shalbe free for any, being an Adventurer in the Comon stock, or his seruant for him, or on his behalfe, to build his house in any place wthin the said Platt sett out for the Towne, and to impale to the quantitie of halfe an acre of Ground for each 50[lb] Adventure in the Comon Stock; vnless a greater or lesser prporcon bee form[r]ly determined by the Gou[r]no[r] & Councell, by wch each builder is to bee guided & directed.

It is farther thought fitt, & Ordered, that all such as goe over in prson, or send over others at their owne Charge, and are Adventurers in the Comon Stock, shall haue lands allotted vnto them for each prson they transport to inhabite the Plantacon, aswell seruants as all others; wch 50 Acres of land, soe allotted to seruants or others, is heereby Ordered to bee to & for the vse of his Master or setter forth, being an Adventurer in the Comon Stock, to dispose of at his discrecon, in regard the Mr., &c. is at the Charge of the said seruant & others, their transportacon, Wages, & otherwise; but for such as being noe Adventurers in the Comon Stock shall transport themselues and their famylies, It is Ordered that 50 Acres of land shall [be] allotted & set out for the Mr. of the ffamilie, and such a prporcon of land more, if there bee cause, as accordinge to their Charge & qualitie the Gou[r]no[r] & Councell of the Plantacon there shall thinke necessary for them, wherby their Charge may bee fully & amply supported, vnless it bee to any wth whom the Company in London haue or shall make any other prticuler agreem[t], to wch relacon is to bee had in such case.

And to the end every Adventurer may the more safely & peaceably enioy their said lands, allotted vnto them or chosen by them, and the houses they build thervpon as abouesaid, It is thought fitt, & Ordered by this Court, that Conveyances shalbe made therof vnto each prticuler man, for the land he possesseth, in the Companyes name, and the Comon Seale of the Company to bee thervnto affixed by the Gou[r]no[r] & Councell there at the Charge of the Company; wch Comon Seale is by this Court thought fitt & Ordered to bee Comitted to the Charge & keeping of the Gou[r]no[r] for the tyme beinge, and in his absence to his deputie there.

All wch prmisses before menconed the Company doe by genrall consent ratyfie, establish, and confirme; and doe also Order, that Coppyes of these Acts shalbe sent ouer to the Gournor and Councell there resydent, subscribed by the Gor, deputie, & six of the Assistants here, and Sealed wth the Comon Seale of the Companie. A.D. 1629.

Present,
Mr. Gournor,
Mr. deputie,
Mr. Harwood, Trer,
Mr. Adams,
Mr. Jo. Venn,
Mr. Backhouse,
Mr. Wm. Vassall,
Mr. Webb,
Mr. Humfrey,
Mr. Crane,
Mr. Pulliston,
Mr. ffoxcroft,

A Genrall Court the 11th of June, 1629.

This Court was appointed to take consideracon of raising of monyes for paymt of divers debts & bills; and thervpon an Estimate was made of what was Owing pr Seurralls bills, & wch are of necessitie to bee presently paid. June 11.

That an other day bee appointed, & the whole Company to bee sumoned by Ticketts, wch is thought fitt to bee on wensday next.

Mr. Godden, Mr. of the Shipp[1] [blank,] made demand of ffraight prtended to bee due vnto him for his last voyage; but hee not expressing a certaine some, this Assembly thinke fitt to deferr him till the next Court; and in the meane tyme hee is desired to bring in a note of what is due, as also to giue securitie to the Company to free them from any further demands, &c. and thervpon a fynall conclusion thereof to bee made.

Present,
Mr. Gournor,
Mr. Deputie,
Sr. R. Saltonstall,
Mr. Geo. ffoxcroft,
Mr. Ri. Perry,
Mr. Adams,
Mr. Whitcombe,
Mr. Pococke,
Mr. Johnson,
Mr. Noell,
Mr. Harwood, Trer,
Mr. Whyte,
Mr. Pelham,
Mr. Cooke,
Mr. Clarke,
Mr. Ballard,
Mr. Pulison,

A Genrall Court at the deputyes house, on Wensday, the 17th of June, 1629.

Mr. [Isaac] Johnson was sworne an Assistant of this Company, being chosen thervnto at a Court the 13th of May, 1629. June 17.

Mr. Gournor moved that a Course might bee setled for bringing in of monyes, and

Mr. Trer returned a Note concerning the Lecestershir[e] men. It was Propounded,

To Encrease their formr subscricons;

To invyte others to vnderwryte;

[1] Henry Gauden was master of the Abigail. (See *Ante*, p. 10)

A.D. 1629. Mr. Walgraue, Mr. Backhouse, Mr. Davis, Mr. Edm. Whyte, Capt. Waller, Capt. Venn, Mr. Davis, Mr. Tho. Andrewes, Mr. Aldrsey.

To borrow mony for a tyme to supply th' occasions;

To take vpp mony at Interest;

Names of those in Court that vnderwritt to lend.

Sr. R. Saltonstall,	100lb
Mr. Gour nor,	150
Mr. Deputie,	50
Perrie,	25
Addams,	50
Increase Noell,	25
George Harwood,	50
Rich. Whyte,	25
Mr. Clark,	25
Sym. Whetcomb,	25
Tho. Hutchins,	25
Edw. Cooke,	50
Dan. Ballard,	25
Edm. Whyte,	20
Joseph Caron,	25
Aldersey,	50
Tho. Andrewes.	25

That those heere prsent doe furnish 200 or 100 a peece [&] to haue allowance for it.

The Court taking into consideracon the necessitie of a prsent supply of the some of fifteene hundred pounds for discharging of debts & bills, & that the monyes vnderwritten by the Adventurers & not yett brought in, nor not likely to bee brought in, in convenyent tyme for Satisffaccon of those debts and bills wch are of Necessitie to bee prsently paid; vpon Seur all prposicons made, it [is] desired & concluded on, that those of the Company heere prsent, would each of them voluntarilie lend such a some of mony as hee shall thinke fitt, for advancing the some wanting, and to haue the Comon Seale of the Companie for the repaymt therof, according to the tyme for wch hee or they soe lend the same; and also tha[t] the Secretarie bee appointed to goe to such others of the Companie not prsent as Mr. Gour nor shall name, to intimate the same vnto them, & to desire them to vnderwryte what somes they will lend for this occasion, according as many of the Comp. heere present haue done. And it is Ordered that the Comon Seale of the Company bee giuen to them, & all others that will lende, for repaymt therof at such tyme as they shall desire the same.

Auditors appointed for auditing th' accompts, viz. Mr. Symon Whetcombe, Mr. Nathaniell Wright, Mr. Noell, Mr. Perry, Mr. Crane, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Andrewes; these 8, or any 4 or more of them, to meete at a Convenyent tyme & place to audite the Accompts.

A Comittee for reducing of all formr Orders into a Method,

viz. The Gou^rno^r, Mr. Whyte, Mr. Dauenport, Mr. Johnson, Capt. Waller, Capt. Venn, Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Adams, Mr. Wright, & Mr. Darby, they or any 4 [of them,] and to prsent the same to the next gen^rall Court, to bee ratyfied & confirmed, in prt or in whole, as shalbe then thought fitt; wch are then by the Secretary to bee entered into a faire booke to bee kept for that purpose, according to the vsage & Custome of other Companyes. A.D. 1629.

A Gen^rall Court, holden for the Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, at Mr. Deputyes house, on Tewsday the 28 of July, 1629. Prsent, July 28

Mr. Matt. Cradock, *Go^r*,
Mr. Thomas Goff, *Dept*,
Mr. George Harwood, *Trer*,
Mr. Thomas Adams,
Mr. Nathaniel Wright,
Mr. Theophilus Eaton,
Mr. Richard Perry,
Mr. Increase Noell,
Mr. Symon Whetcombe,
Mr. John Pocock,
Mr. Colson,
Mr. Hutchins,
Mr. Willjam Pinchon,
Mr. Sam. Vassall,

Mr. Jos. Bradshawe,
Mr. Burnell,
Mr. River,
Mr. Dan. Ballard,
Mr. Spurstowe,
Mr. Tho. Hewson,
Mr. Woodgate,
Mr. Web,
Mr. Crane,

Gen^ralitie.

The busines treated on at the last Meeting was now read; and thervpon the accompts of Mr. Gou^rno^r, Mr. deputie, and Mr. Trer. being now prsented to this Court, the Audito^rs for-m^rly appointed for Auditing the Comp. accompts, were now desired to meete & pruse & Audite these accompts; wch they haue agreed to doe to morrow in th' afternoone.

It was moved by Mr. Gou^rno^r, that a shipp of 400 Tonnes & of good force, being now to be sold, should bee bought for the Companyes vse, vpon their gen^rall Stock; or th[at] some prticuler members of the Comp. would vndertake to buy the said shipp, in regard the Company are not now in Cash; &

A.D. 1629. that the Company will not only imploy that shipp, but take other shipps of them of less defence, for Transport of their Cattle & all other Comodities, from tym[e] to tyme, soe long as they shalbe willing to furnish such shippinge; whervpon Mr. Gou[r]no[r] declared that hee was willing to take $\frac{1}{8}$ prt of the s[d] ship, or vnder,

and did wryte	$\frac{1}{8}$ prt	Mr. Revell,	$\frac{1}{16}$
Mr. Deputie,	$\frac{1}{16}$	Mr. Aldersey,	$\frac{1}{16}$
Mr. Adams,	$\frac{1}{8}$	Mr. Milburne,	$\frac{1}{8}$
Mr. Wright,	$\frac{1}{8}$	Mr. Huson,	$\frac{1}{16}$
Mr. Eaton,	$\frac{1}{16}$	The Company,	$\frac{1}{8}$
Mr. Whetcombe,	$\frac{1}{16}$		

A lre of the 27th of May from Mr. Jo. Endecott was now read;[1] wherin, amongst other things hee complaines of the prphane & dissolute liuing of divers of o[r] Nation, form[r] Traders to those prts, and of their irregular Trading wth the Indians, Contrary to his late Ma[ts] prclamacon; desiring that the Company would take the same into their serious consideracon, & to vse some speedy means heere for reformacon therof. Whervpon the Proclamacon made in Anno 1622. was read,[2] and it is thought fitt that suite bee made to his Ma[ty], or the lords, for renewing therof, wth addicon of such benefitiall clauses as shalbe needful for reforming so great & vnsufferable abuses; and Mr. Gou[r]no[r], Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Wright and Mr. Eaton, are desire[d] to repair to the lo. Keepr & Mr. Sec. Coke, to acquaint their hono[rs] herewth, and afterwards a peticon to bee prsented to the Councell Board accordingly.

A Note of divers prposicons offred to the Consideracon of this Company by one John Betts was read, prtending that hee is able to discou[r] diuers things for the good & advancm[t] of the plantacon & the benefitt of this Company; whervpon some of

[1] It is a misfortune to history that the letters written by Endicott to the Company are not to be found. As official accounts of the condition and progress of affairs in the new colony they may have contained valuable information that has not been preserved in other forms.

[2] The proclamation is in *Hazard's Collection of State Papers*, 1, 151, taken from *Rymer's Fœdera*, xvii. 416. The result of the Company's petition was a new proclamation issued Nov. 24th, 1630, which is also in *Hazard*, 1, 311.

those heere prsent were desired to enquire further of him, not only of his abilitie but of his deportm[t] in his lyfe & Conversacon, and then the Company to treat wth him as they shall thinke fitt. A.D. 1629.

Also Mr. Webb moued concerning a ffrench Man, being a Phisition, and otherwise well qualifyed, who is desirous to goe over to liue vpon the Companys plantacon, & gaue good comendacons both of his suffyciency & of his godly lyfe & conversacon; and of one Mr. Gardner, an able & expert man in divers facultyes, who are to bee further enquired of and treated wth against the next meeting of the Companie.

It is also thought fitt & Ordered, that Lres bee written to tho[se] in the Country to pay in what they are behinde vpon their subscripcons; & that some tradesmen heere in London that haue occasion to trauell into any of those prts bee desired to receive the Mony on the Companys behalfe.

And lastly, Mr. Gou[r]no[r] read certaine prposicons conceiv[ed] by himselfe, viz[t]. That for the Advancem[t] of the Plantacon, the inducing & encouraging Persons of worth & qualitie [to] transplant themselues & famylyes thether, & for other weighty reasons therin contained, to transferr the Gou[r]nm[t] of the Plantacon to those that shall inhabite there, and not to continue the same in subordinacon to the Company heer[e,] as now it is; This busines occasioned some debate; but by reason of the many great & considerable consiquences thervpon depending, it was not now resolued vpon, but those prsent are desired privately & seriously to consider hereof, & to sett downe their prticuler reasons in wryting pro & contra, & to prduce the same at the next gen[r]all Cour[t]; where they being reduced to heads, and maturely considere[d] of, the Company may then prceede to fynall resolucon the[rein]; and in the meane tyme they are desyred to carry this busines secretly, that the same bee not devulged.

A.D. 1629. Aug. 28. *A Gen'all Court holden at Mr. Deputyes house, the 28th of August*, 1629.

Present,

Mr. Goff, *Deputie*,	Mr. Nowell,
Mr. Harwood, *Trer*,	Mr. Ffoxcroft,
Sr. Richard Saltonstall,	Mr. Whyte,
Mr. Johnson,	Mr. Cooke,
Mr. Davenport,	Mr. Ballard,
Mr. Humfreys,	Mr. Wright,
Mr. Adams,	Mr. Whetcombe,
Capt. Venn,	Mr. Smith,
Mr. Pocock,	Mr. Revell,
Mr. Perry,	Mr. Dauis,
Mr. Colston,	Mr. Eaton,
Mr. Pinchion,	Mr. Colbrand.
Mr. Wm. Vassall,	

Mr. Deputie acquainted this Court, that the espetiall cause of their meeting was to giue answere to divers gent. intending to goe into new England, whether or noe the chiefe Gou'nm't of the Plantacon, togeather wth the Pattent, should bee setled in New England or heere;

Whervpon it was Ordered, that this afternoone Mr. Wright, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Adams, Mr. Spurstowe, and such others as they should thinke fitt to call vnto them, whether they were of the Company or not, to consider of Argum'ts against the setling of the cheife Gou'nm't in new England; And on the other syde, S'r. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Capt. Venn, and such others as they should call vnto them, to prpare argum'ts for the setling of the s'd Gou'nm't in New England; and that to morrow Morning, being the 29th of Aug., at 7 of the Clock, both sydes should meete & consyder and weigh each others Argum'ts, and afterwards at 9 of the Clock (wch is the tyme appointed of meeting for a Gen'all Court) to make report thereof to the whole Company, who then will determine this business.

A Gen^r^all Court at Mr. Deputyes house, the 29th of August, 1629. Prsent, A.D. 1629. Aug. 29.

Mr. Deputie,	Mr. Harwood, *Trer*,
Sr. Ri. Saltonstall,	Mr. Perry,
Mr. Johnson,	Mr. Foxcroft,
Mr. Davenport,	Mr. Dauys,
Mr. Aldersey,	Mr. Ironsyde,
Mr. Humfrey,	Mr. Pinchon,
Capt. Waller,	Mr. Wm. Vassall,
Capt. Venn,	Mr. Rowe,
Mr. Adams,	Mr. Ballard,
Mr. Eaton,	Mr. Nowell,
Mr. Sam. Vassall,	Mr. Webb,
Mr. Wright,	Mr. Whetcombe,
Mr. Colston,	Mr. Colbrand.
Mr. Pocock,	

This day the Comittees wch were appointed to meete yesterday in the afternoone to consider of arguments pro & contra touching the setling of the Gou^r^nm^t^ of the Companyes Plantacon in New England, being according to the Order of the last Court mett togeather, debated their argum^ts^ and reasons on both sydes; wher[e] were prsent many of the Assistants & gen^r^alitie; and after a long debate Mr. Deputie put it to the question, as followeth:

As many of you as desire to haue the Pattent and the Gou^r^nm^t^ of the Plantacon to bee transferred to new England, soe as it may bee done legally, hold vp yor hands. Soe many as will not, hold vpp yor hands.

Where, by ereccon of hands, it appeared by the gen^r^all consent of the Company, that the Gou^r^m^t^ [&] Pattent should bee setled in new England, & accordingly an Order to bee drawne vpp.[1]

[1] The nature and extent of the rights and powers which the colonists derived from their charter, have been the subject of much discussion. Chalmers, in his *Political Annals*, and Robertson, in his *History of America*, deny to the colonists both the privilege of freedom of worship, and the right of removing their charter and government from the mother country. Puritan writers of that day thought differently.

A.D. 1629. Sept. 19. *A Gen^rall Court holden at Mr. Deputyes house, the 19th of Sept.* 1629. Prsent,

Mr. Matt. Cradock, *Govr*,	Mr. Colson,
Mr. Tho. Goff, *Dep^t*,	Mr. Pinchon,
Mr. Geo. Harwood, *Trer*,	Mr. Hutchins,
Mr. Spurstowe,	Mr. Perry,
Mr. Pocock,	Mr. Whetcombe,
Mr. Wrighte,	& others.

At this Court lres were read from Capt. Endicott and others from new E.; and wheras a difference hath falne out, betwixt the Gou^rno^r there & Mr. John & Samuell Browne, it was agreed by the Court, that for the determinacon of those differences, Mr. John & Samuell Browne might choose any 3 or 4 of the Company on their behalfe, to heare the said differences, the Company choosing as many: Whervpon the said Mr. John and Samuell Browne made choice of Mr. Sam. Vassell, & Mr. W^m. Vassell, Mr. Symon Whetcombe, & Mr. Willm Pinchion; and for the Companie there were chosen Mr. John Whyte, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Isack Johnson, & Mr. John Wynthropp; who, wth the Gou^rno^r or deputie, are to determine & end the business the first Tewsday in the next Tearme; and if any of the aforenamed prtyes bee absent, others to bee chosen by ether prtyes in their steade.

They claimed for the Company the liberty to worship according to the dictates of private conscience, and based the legality of the removal of the government upon the judgment of learned counsel. Grahame takes similar ground with regard to religious freedom, but considers it unaccountable to every person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, that the emigrants received a favorable opinion respecting the transfer of the charter. Bancroft intimates an opinion that the Governor, Deputy, Assistants, and Freemen, could lawfully emigrate, and thus break down the distinction between the Colony and the Corporation; but says, on the authority of Judge Story, that the charter was far from conceding to the patentees the freedom of religious worship. *Chalmers*, p. 150; *Robertson*, ch. 10; *Grahame*, Vol. I. lib. 2d, chaps. 1 and 2; *Bancroft*, Vol. I. p. 343.

This diversity of sentiment among learned and able men affords at least a plausible justification of the construction of their charter adopted by the colonists; to which should be added the fact that their proceedings were open and notorious, and sanctioned by the acquiescence of the British government. The charter itself declares that it "shall be construed, reputed, and adjudged, in all cases, most favorably on the behalfe, and for the benefit and behoofe of the said Governor and Company, and their successors."

For the vnlading of the Shipps now come, viz. the Lyons Whelpe and the Talbott, it was desired that the Gou^rno^r & deputie would take such Order therin as they should thinke fitt. A.D. 1629.

And lastly for the 5 boyes returned from New England vpon the Talbutt,[1] It is to bee advised on what course to bee taken for their punishm^t, either by prcuring Mr. Recorder his Warrant, by complaining to the Judge of the Admiraltie, or otherwise.

A Gen^rall Court holden at Mr. Deputyes house, on Tewsday, the 29th of Sept. 1629.

Prsent,

Sept. 29.

Mr. Matthew Cradock, *Gou^r.*	Mr. Andrewes,
Mr. Thomas Goff, *Dep^t*,	Mr. Roe,
Capt. Waller,	Mr. Revell,
Capt. Venn,	Mr. Huson,
Mr. Nath. Wright,	Mr. Webb,
Mr. Tho. Adams,	Mr. Woodgate,
Mr. Geo. Ffoxcroft,	Mr. Puliston,
Mr. Richard Perry,	Mr. Bateman,
Mr. Nowell,	Mr. Wynche.
Mr. Sym. Whetcombe,	

At this Court were read the Orders made the 28th & 29th of August last, concerning the transferring of the Pattent & Gou^rnm^t. of the Plantacon into new England; but that business being of great & weighty consiquence, is thought fitt to bee deferred for determina[con] vntill Sr. R. Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, & other gent bee come vpp to London, & may bee heere prsent; and in the meane tyme it was prpounded that a Comittee should bee appointed to prpare the business.

To take advice of learned Councell whether the same may bee legally done or noe;

By what way or meanes the same may bee done, to corispond wth, and not to priudice the Gou^rm^t. heere;

To consider of the tyme when it wilbe fitt to doe it;

[1] They had been detected in corrupt practices on the voyage out.

A.D. 1629. To resolue on whom to conferr the Gou^rnm^t; and divers other Circumstances materiall to bee resolued on, &c.

The next thinge taken into consideracon was the lres from Mr. Jo. & Samuell Browne to divers of their private friends heere in England, whether the same should bee deliu^red or detained, & whether they should bee opened & read, or not; and for that it was to bee doubted by prbable Circumstances, that they had defamed the Country of New England, & the Gou^no^r & Gou^rnm^t. there, it was thought fitt that som[e] of the said lres should bee opened & publiquely read; wch was done accordingly; and the rest to remaine at Mr. Deputyes house, & the prtyes to whom they are directed to haue notice, and Mr. Gou^no^r, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Trer, & Mr. Wright, or any two of them, are intreated to bee at the opning & reading therof, to the end the Company may haue notice if ought bee incerted therin wch may bee p^riudiciall to their Gou^rnm^t or Plantacon in New England.[1] And it is also thought fitt that

[1] The offence committed by John and Samuel Browne appears to have consisted, not so much in their adhering to the ceremonies of the established church, as in the fact of "their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction." Those writers who charge the colonists with bigotry and intolerance in their conduct towards these individuals, and with unfair and tyrannical treatment, overlook the consideration that the original charter of the Plymouth Council makes provision for precisely such cases. Persons guilty of insolent and contemptuous carriage, or who divulged vile and scandalous reports of the country of New England, or of the government or estate of the plantation, whereby others might be discouraged from joining the enterprise, if they returned to England might be punished there, or be remanded to the colony to be proceeded against according to such laws and ordinances as should be in use in the plantation.

The story of the Brownes is thus related by Governor Bradford. "Some of the passengers that came over, observing that the ministers did not at all use the book of common prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble; of these Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of party and post in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the book of common prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governour, Mr. Endicot, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, &c.; but for them-

none of the lres from Mr. Sam. Browne shalbe deliu'd, but kept to bee made vse of against him as occasion shalbe offered. A.D. 1629.

selves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither separatists nor anabaptists, they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governour and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers' answer; and therefore finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practises tending to mutiny and faction, the governour told them, that New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings both against the governour and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it." *Morton's N. E. Memorial*, p. 147.

The cautious and candid disposition of the Company in England, in relation to this matter, may be gathered from the following letters, addressed, the first to the ministers Skelton and Higginson, the other to Governor Endicott.

"REVEREND FRIENDS,

"There are lately arrived here, being sent from the Governor, Mr. Endecott, as men factious and evil conditioned, John and Samuel Browne, being brethren; who, since their arrival, have raised rumors (as we hear) of divers scandalous and intemperate speeches passed from one or both of you in your public sermons or prayers in New England, as also of some innovations attempted by you. We have reason to hope that their reports are but slanders; partly, for that your godly and quiet conditions are well known to some of us; and also for that these men, your accusers, seem to be embittered against you and Captain Endecott for injuries which they conceive they have received from some of you there. Yet, for that we all know that the best advised will overshoot themselves, we have thought good to inform you of what we hear, that if you be innocent you may clear yourselves; or if otherwise, you may hereby be entreated to look back upon your miscarriage with repentance; or at least to take notice that we utterly disallow any such passages, and must and will take order for the redress thereof, as shall become us. But hoping, as we said, of your unblamableness herein, we desire only that this may testify to you and others that we are tender of the least aspersion which, either directly or obliquely, may be cast upon the State here, to whom we owe so much duty, and from whom we have received so much favor in this Plantation where you now reside.

So with our love and due respect to your callings, we rest,

Your loving friends,

R. SALTONSTALL,
ISA. JOHNSON,
MATT. CRADOCK, *Governor*,
THO. GOFF, *Deputy*,
GEO. HARWOOD, *Treasurer*,
JOHN WINTHROP,
THO. ADAMS,
SYM. WHETCOMBE,
WILLIAM VASSALL,
WM. PINCHION,
JOHN REVELL,
FRANCIS WEBB,

London, 16 *October*, 1629.

A.D. 1629. The business of Cleering the 2 Shipps lately come home, paying & discharging the Men, and housing the Goods, is recomended to the Care of Mr. Deputie, who hath vndertaken the same.

It is also thought fitt & Ordered, that the Secretary shall wryte out a Coppy of the form^r^ Grant to the Erle of Warwick & others, wch was by them resigned to this Company, to bee prsented to his L^P^., as hee having desired the same.[1]

SIR,

As we have written at this time to Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, touching the rumors of John and Samuel Browne, spread by them upon their arrival here, concerning some unadvised and scandalous speeches uttered by them in their public sermons or prayers, so we have thought meet to advertise you of what they have reported against you and them, concerning some rash innovations begun and practised in the civil and ecclesiastical government. We do well consider that the Brownes are likely to make the worst of any thing they have observed in New England, by reason of your sending them back, against their wills, for their offensive behavior, expressed in a general letter from the company there. Yet, for that we likewise do consider that you are in a government newly founded, and want that assistance which the weight of such a business doth require, we may have leave to think that it is possible some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put in execution, which may have ill construction with the State here, and make us obnoxious to any adversary. Let it therefore seem good unto you to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the State here, to which (as we ought) we must and will have an obsequious eye. And as we make it our main care to have the Plantation so ordered as may be most for the honor of God and of our gracious Sovereign, who hath bestowed many large privileges and royal favors upon this Company, so we desire that all such as shall by word or deed do any thing to detract from God's glory or his Majesty's honor, may be duly corrected, for their amendment, and the terror of others. And to that end if you know any thing which hath been spoken or done either by the ministers, (whom the Brownes do seem tacitly to blame for some things uttered in their sermons or prayers,) or any others, we require you, if any such thing be, that you form due process against the offenders, and send it to us by the first, that we may, as our duty binds us, use means to have them duly punished.

So not doubting but we have said enough, we shall repose ourselves upon your wisdom, and do rest

Your loving friends "

Dated and signed as the former letter to Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson.

To the Governor, Capt. Endecott.

See *Young's Chronicles of Mass.*, pp. 287, 291.

[1] Dr. Young supposes that the grant here referred to is the patent from the Plymouth Council to Sir Henry Roswell and his associates, March 19th, 1628. But is he not mistaken? The Earl of Warwick was not one of the grantees in that case. Hutchinson says he "had a patent for Massachusetts Bay at about the same time with Robert Gorges, but the bounds are not known." In the Journal of the Council for New England, under date of May 31, 1622, is the following entry. "Ordered, that patents be drawn for the Earl of Warwick and his associates, Ld. Gorges, Sir Robt. Mansell, Sir Ferd. Gorges." *MS. Extracts of Rev. J. B. Felt.*

Mr. Gou^rno^r moved to knowe the resolucon of the Comp^r. concerning buying the Shipp Eagle; and it was concluded on as form^rly that the said Shipp should bee bought by those hereafter named, viz. A.D. 1629.

The Gou^rno^r,	1/8	Mr. Revell,	1/16
The Deputie,	1/16	Mr. Aldersey,	1/16
Mr. Adams,	1/8	Mr. Milburne,	1/8
Mr. Wright,	1/8	Mr. Huson,	1/16
Mr. Eaton,	1/16	The Companie.	1/8
Mr. Whetcombe,	1/16		

And Mr. Gou^rno^r is desired to goe on & conclude the bargaine vpon such tearmes as hee can; And it was further thought fitt & resolued on, that this Shipp, being of good force, and bought for the safety & hono^r & benefitt of the plantacon, shall alwayes bee prferred in that voyage before any other Shipp, and to haue some consideracon in her fraight aboue other Shipps accordingly.

It is also thought fitt for the prsent raysing of mony, that sale bee made of the Beavo^r Skins; and to that purpose a rate was now sett vpon them of 20^s. pr ^lb; And Mr. Nath^ll Wright being heere prsent is to haue tyme till to morrow to accept of them at that rate, or to returne his answer; and in the meane tyme the Skins not to bee sold vnder that rate, The sale of them being referred to Mr. Gou^rno^r and Mr. Deputie.

Also some speech was had concerning the deliu^ry of the pet^n to the ll^ds. of the Councell, but this is deferred till their ll^ps coming to London.[1]

Mr. Trer & Mr. Adams are desired to make an abstract of those who are behinde wth their subscripcons, to the end some course may bee taken to call in for those monyes.

For the 12 Cowes, & 3 Calfes, & 2 Mares, & 2 foles, it is thought fitt that they bee forthwth sold rather then kept at Charges all this Winter; wch is recomended to the care of Mr. Bateman & Mr. Huson.

Also concerning the 5 boyes returned in the Talbott, M[r.]

[1] See Ante, p. 46.

A.D. 1629. Whetcombe & Mr. Noell are desired to acquaint Sr. He[n.] Martyn wth their misdemeanor, & to advise what puni[sh]m^t^ may bee inflicted vpon them, and how the Comp. may bee legally discharged of them.

Vpon the desire of Mr. John & Samuell Browne, it is thought fitt & Ordered that they should haue a Coppy of the accusacon sent from new England ag^t^ them, to the end they may bee the better prpared to make answere thervnto.

Mr. Wright is desired to take Care of the Sale of the Clapboard & other wood.

Also, lres from Robt. Moulton, the Shipwright, & from the Cowpers & Cleavers of Wood, consisting of divers prticulers, were now read; wch are to bee abrevyated, and fitting answers to bee made vnto them by the returne of the next Shipps to New England.

A Gen^r^all Court at the Deputyes house, on Thursday, the 15 *of Octo.* 1629.

Prsent,

Oct. 15.

Mr. Matt. Cradock, *Gou^r^no^r^.*
Mr. Geo. Harwood, *Trer*,
Sr. Richard Saltonstall,
Mr. John Dauenport,
Mr. Isack Johnson,
Mr. Samuell Aldersey,
Mr. John Humfrey,
Mr. Nath. Wright,
Mr. John Venn,
Mr. Tho. Adams,
Mr. Willm Vassall,
Mr. Symon Whetcombe,
Mr. William Pynchion,
Mr. Geo. Ffoxcroft,
Mr. Increase Noell,
Mr. Ballard,
Mr. Revell,
Mr. Dudley,
Mr. Winthrop,
Mr. Webb,
Mr. Huson,
Mr. Young,
Mr. Whichcoyte,
Mr. Crane,
Mr. Owen Roe,
Mr. Forde, wth divers others of the Gen^r^alitie.

The espetiall and only occasion of this meeting beinge to consider and resolue of the setling the trade in New England, (now vpon transferring the Gou^r^nm^t^. thither,) for th' incour-

agm^t^ aswell of the Adventurers in the ioynt Stock heere, as of those who already are, & of others who intend to goe ouer in prson to bee Planters there, and for their mutuall corispondence & behoofe, and the Advancem^t^ of the Plantacon to the end wch was at first intended, The Court tooke the same into due & mature consideracon; And after a long debate, and sundry opinions giuen, and reasons why the ioynt Stock, (wch had borne the brunt of the Charge hetherto, & was likely to beare much more,) should haue certaine Comodityes appropriate thervnto, for reembursm^t^ & defraym^t^ therof, and diuers obiections being made to those reasons, all wch was largly discused and well weighed, The Court, in conclusion, for accomodacon of both prts, fell vpon a moderacon as followeth, viz. A.D. 1629.

That the Companye's Joynt Stock shall haue the Trade of Beavo^r^ and all other ffurrs in those prts solely, for the Tearme of 7 yeares from this day, for and in consideracon of the Charge that the Joynt Stock hath vndergone already, and is yett anually to beare, for th' advancm^t^ of the Plantacon.

That for the Charge of ffortyficacons, The Companye's ioynt Stock to beare the one halfe, and the Planters to defray the other, viz. for Ordnance, Munition, Powder, &c: but for Laborers in building of fforts, &c., all men to bee employed in an equall prporcon, according to the nomb^r^ of men vpon the Plantacon, and soe to continue vntill such fitt & necessarie works bee finished.

That the Charge of the Ministers now there, or that shall hereafter goe to resyde there, as also the Charge of building convenyent Churches, and all other publique works vpon the Plantacon, bee in like mann^r^ indifferently borne, the one halfe by the Companye's ioynt Stock for the said tearme of 7 yeares, and the other halfe by the Planters.

That the Ordnance already prvyded for fortyficacon bee rated as they cost, as also all Powder & Munition whatsoeuer concerning Armes, soe as the same bee deliu^r^d there for publique vse; and this to bee accompted as prt of the ioynt Stock of the Company.

A.D. 1629. All wch beeing seu[r]all tymes read, was by Mr. Gou[r]no[r] put to the question, and by gen[r]all consent, by erreccon of hands, was agreed & concluded on, and Ordered accordingly.

And forasmuch as by form[r] Order the Pattent & Gou[r]nm[t] [is] to bee transferred to New England, A Comittee is appointed, prt of the Adventurers heere, & prt of those that intend to goe over, viz.

Mr. Dauenport,	Sr. Ri. Saltonstall,
Mr. Wright,	Mr. Johnson,
Mr. Perry,	Mr. Winthrope,
Capt. Waller,	Mr. Humfry,
Capt. Venn,	Mr. Dudley,
Mr. Adams,	Mr. Va[ssall,]
Mr. Whetcombe,	Mr. [Pinchon,]
Mr. Young,	& Mr. Down[ing.[1]]
Mr. Spurstowe,	
Mr. Revell,	

Who are desired to meete to-morrow morning, to conferr of & drawe fitt & Conuenyent Clauses to bee incerted in Articles of agreem[t], wch may bee comodious for ether prt, and to prepare the same for a Court of Assistants, appointed that afternoone to determine therof.

A Court of Assistants at the Deputies house, on ffryday, the 16th of Octo[br], 1629.

Present,

Oct. 16.

Mr. Matth. Cradock, *Go[r]*,	Mr. Geo. Harwood, *Trer*,
Sr. Ri. Saltonstall,	Mr. Winthrop,
Mr. Is. Johnson,	Mr. Huson,
Mr. Dudley,	Mr. Whetcombe,
Mr. Jo. Humfry,	Mr. Perry,
Mr. Wm. Vassall,	Mr. Pocock,
Mr. Revell,	Mr. Spurstowe,
Mr. Geo. Foxcroft,	Mr. Pinchon,
Mr. Adams,	Capt. Venn,
	Mr. Sam. Vassall.

[1] The eight last named were those who intended to go over.

This Court was appointed to treat & resolue, that vpon Transferring of the Gou^{r}nm^{t} to N. England, what Gou^{r}nm^{t} shalbe held at London, wherby the future charge of the ioynt Stock may bee Cherished & prserved, and the body politique of the Company remaine and increase. A.D. 1629.

What prsons shall haue the Charge of the managing of the ioynt Stock, both at London & in N. England; wherin it is conceeved fitt that Capt. Endecott continue the Gou^{r}nm^{t} there, vnless iust cause to the contrarie.

These & other things were largly discussed; And it was thought fitt & naturall that the Gou^{r}nm^{t} of prsons bee held there, The gou^{r}nm^{t} of Trade & Marchandizes to bee heere.

That the ioynt Stock being mutuall, both heere & there, that some fitt prsons bee appointed for managing therof in both places.

But for that there is a great debt owing by the ioynt Stock, it was moved that some course might bee taken for cleering thereof, before the Gou^{r}nm^{t} bee transferred; and to this purpose it was first thought fitt that the accompts should bee audited, to see what the debt is; but the business not admitting any such delay, it was desired that Mr. Gou^{r}no^{r} & Mr. Trer. would meete to-morrow, & make an estimate of the debts, & prpare the same against a meeting to bee on monday next, to determine this question.

The Shipp Eagle is to bee fraighted from Bristoll.[1]

Lastly, Lres were read & signed to Mr. Endecott, Mr. Skelton, & Mr. Higgison, as appeares by the entryes of them in the booke of Coppyes of lres.[2]

[1] This ship, which was purchased by contribution, and having been "bought for the safety, honor, and benefit of the plantation," was to "be preferred before any other ship, and to have some consideration in her freight above any other ships," (See *Ante*, p. 55,) afterwards became the celebrated *Arbella*. Her name was changed in honor of the Lady Arbella Johnson, wife of Isaac Johnson, one of the Assistants, and daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. The name has often been incorrectly spelled Arabella. See *Prince's N. E. Chron.* p. 204; *Savage's Winthrop*, I. 1.

[2] The letters here referred to are printed in the note on p. 53-4. They are preserved in the first book of Deeds in the Registry of Suffolk.

A.D. 1629. Oct. 19. *A Meeting at Mr. Deputies house, on Monday, the 19th of Octo.* 1629.

Present,

Mr. Matth. Cradock, *Gor*,
Mr. Geo. Harwood, *Trer*,
Mr. Na. Wright,
Capt. Venn,
Mr. Pinchon,
Mr. Wm. Vassall,
Mr. Huson,
Mr. Noell,
Mr. Adams,
Mr. Ffoxcroft,
Sr. R. Saltonstall,
Mr. Isack Johnson,
Mr. Dauenport,
Mr. Whyte, the Preacher,
Mr. Whyte, the Councellor,
Mr. Wynthropp,
Mr. Dudley.

Th' occasion of this meeting being to resolue of the alteracon of the Gouernmt, and therin to consider how the debts vpon the ioynt Stock shalbe first discharged, and how the same shalbe hereafter managed; and herein what was formerly treated on, was againe related, and for that divers questions will arise to bee determined in this business, wch will take vpp much tyme, and cannot bee soe convenyently done at a Court, it was thought fitt that certaine Comittees bee appointed on ether prt to meete & make prposicons each to other, & sett the same downe in wryting; and if they can, to agree & conclude of a fitt end to bee made for the good of the Plantacon; and if any difference happen wch they cannot agree on, that then the same be referred to the vmprage & determinacon of some of the Preachers to bee chosen to [that] purpose; who are desired to sett downe in Wryting what they shall thinke in Conscience is fitt to bee done, indifferently for the good of the worke & the encouragemt both of Planters & Adventurers. And to this purpose, Articles betweene the Planters & Adventurers for prformance of what shalbe determined, was now drawne by Mr. Whyte, the Councellor, read & approued, and are to bee prsented to-morrow at a Generall Court, to bee ratyfyed, & then Sealed; and at that Court the Gouernor & Assistants to bee chosen for the Gouernmt in N. England.

A Gen^rall Court holden at Mr. Goffs the Deputyes house, on Tewsday, the 20th of Octo., 1629. Prsent, A.D. 1629. Oct. 20.

Mr. Matthew Cradock, *Go^r*,
Sr. Richard Saltonstall,
Mr. Isack Johnson,
Capt. Jo. Venn,
Mr. Aldersey,
Mr. Nath. Wright,
Mr. Geo. Harwood, *Trer*,
Mr. Jo. Humfry,
Mr. Wm. Vassall,
Mr. Wm. Pinchon,
Mr. Geo. Ffoxcroft,
Mr. Increase Noell,
Mr. Chr. Colson,
Mr. Rich. Perry,
Mr. Tho. Adams,
Mr. Jo. Pocock,
Mr. Tho. Hutchins,
Assistants.

Mr. Davenport, } *Clerks*,
Mr. Whyte, }
Mr. Wenthrop,
Mr. Dudley,
Mr. Puliston,
Mr. Ballard,
Mr. Job Bradshaw,
Mr. Cooke,
Mr. Revell,
Capt. Waller,
Mr. Ballard,[1]
Mr. Woodgate,
Mr. Stephens,
Mr. Ffr. Fflyer,
Mr. Spurstowe,
Mr. Huson,
Mr. Roe,
Mr. Web, wth some others of the *Gen^ralitie*.

Mr. Gou^rno^r caused to bee read the Order form^rly made concerning the buying of the Shipp Eagle; and desired to knowe the pleasure of the Court for confirmacon therof. Whervpon some debate being had, the Order was well approued of, but for that it is wished that the gent. that are to goe over should haue the $\frac{1}{8}$ prt of the s^d shipp wch was form^rly allotted to the Companie, (the Companie being out of Cash, & for other reasons,) they not hauinge notice therof till now, desired tyme till the after noone to consider thereof & to giue their answere; wch was condiscended vnto, and the same is then to bee determined accordingly.

After wch Mr. Gou^rno^r acquainted those prsent, that the espetiall occasion of summoninge this Court was for the Elec-

[1] It is presumed this name was repeated accidentally.

A.D. 1629. con of a New Gou^rno^r, deputie, and Assistants, the Gou^rnm^t being to bee transferred into New England, according to the former Order and resolucon of the Company; but before the Court prceeded to the said Eleccon, certaine Articles of agreem^t, conceived at a meeting yesterday, between the Adventurers heere at home & the Planters that are to goe over, aswell for the mannaging & setling of the ioynt Stock as for reconcilinge of any differences that may happen vpon this Change of Gou^rnm^t, was now read & recomended to the Court for their approbacon and for the nominacon & appointm^t of a compitent nomber of Comittees to meete & treat & resolue of these businesses. The Articles themselues were approved of, and 5 Comittees on ether prt were thervpon chosen, viz: — Sr. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Humfry, for the Planters; and for the Adventurers was chosen, Mr. Gou^rno^r, Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Wright, Mr. Hutchins, and Capt. Venn. And in case the said Committee, or the greater nomber of them, should differ in any one or more prticulers, & not agree theron, there was chosen for Vmpiers, Mr. Whyte, the Councello^r, Mr. Whyte, of Dorchester, and Mr. Dauenport, to whom the desition & determinacon of all such differences is referred according to the tenure of the said Articles of agreem^t. And it being further taken into consideracon, that in regard of the Shortness of the tyme limitted to the Comittees, many things of waight & consiquence in this soe great a business may ether not bee at all thought on, or otherwise left unresolued by them & the s^d vmpiers, It is therfore thought fitt by this Court, thatt the said Comittee & vmpiers shall continue till the end of this tearme; and whatsoever materiall things for the good of the Plantacon shall in that tyme bee treated on & resolued by them, the same to bee as valide & effectuall as if it had bin done before the expiracon of the tyme limitted by the Articles. And it was further thought fitt that all such others of the Company as will, may from tyme to tyme haue access to the said Comittee, to prpound such things as they conceive benefitiall for the business, or to prsent their opinions in wryting, but not to debate wth them for interrupting their prceedings.

All wch being put to the question, was approued of and by erreccon of hands ordered accordingly. A.D. 1629.

And Now the Court preeding to the Eleccon of a New Gou^rno^r, deputie, & Assistants, wch, vpon serious delibracon, hath bin, and is conceived to bee for the espetiall good & advancm^t of their affaires; and having received extraordinary great comendacons of Mr. John Wynthrop, both for his Integritie & sufficiencie, as being one every [way] well fitted & accomplished for the place of Gou^rno^r, did putt in nominacon for that place the said Mr. John Winthrop, Sr. R. Saltonstall, Mr. Is. Johnson, and Mr. John Humfry; and the said Mr. Winthrop was wth a gen^rall vote & full consent of this Court, by ereccon of hands, chosen to bee Gou^rno^r for the ensuing yeare, to begin on this prsent day; who was pleased to accept therof, and thervpon tooke the Oath to that place apprtaineing.[1]

[1] Hubbard mentions Winthrop as among the religious gentlemen, who being brought into acquaintance with Sir Henry Roswell and others, by Mr. White, soon after the purchase of the patent from the Plymouth Council, in March, 1627-8, first associated with them, and then bought of them all their right and interest. (See his *Hist. of N. E.*, pp. 108-9.) This is manifestly a careless and incorrect statement. On the other hand, Dudley, in his *Historical Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, makes it appear as if Winthrop did not join the enterprise until "the too large commendations of the country of New England, and the commodities thereof," had been received from Higginson and his associates. The earliest intelligence from that expedition was brought by the Talbot, which the Records show to have arrived about the 20th of September; yet Winthrop signed the agreement to embark for New England, on the 26th of August preceding. Higginson's "*True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of the Country*," to which Dudley has been supposed to refer, (*Young's Chron. of Mass.*, p. 310, *note*,) from intrinsic evidence could not have been written before September, 1629, and could not have reached England till the arrival of the May Flower and Four Sisters, about the 20th of November, when Winthrop was already Governor.

A few facts, whose dates are ascertained, seem to make the period of Winthrop's first connection with the Company, coincident with that of the proposition to transfer the government. In the family correspondence, printed in the *Appendix to Mr. Savage's edition of Winthrop's Journal*, New England is mentioned for the first time in a letter from his son John, dated Aug. 21, 1629, where the writer expresses his readiness to call that his country where he may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of his dearest friends — and therefore submits to God's will and his father's, dedicating himself to the service of God and the Company. The proposition to transfer the government had been brought forward by Governor Cradock on the 28th of July. On the 26th of August an agreement to embark for New England (provided the government and patent were transferred thither) was signed at Cambridge by Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharp, Increase Nowell, JOHN WINTHROP, William Pinchon,

A.D. 1629. In like mann^{r}, & wth like free & full consent, Mr. John Humfry was Chosen deputie Gou^{r}no^{r}.

and Sr. R. Saltonstall,	Mr. Thomas Sharpe,
Mr. Is. Johnson,	Mr. John Revell,
Mr. Tho. Dudley,	Mr. Matt. Cradock,
Mr. Jo. Endecott,	Mr. Thomas Goff,
Mr. Noell,	Mr. Aldersey,
Mr. Wm. Vassall,	Mr. John Venn,
Mr. Wm. Pinchon,	Mr. Nath. Wright,
Mr. Sam. Sharpe,	Mr. Theoph. Eaton,
Mr. Edw. Rossiter,	Mr. Tho. Addams,

Were chosen to bee Assistants; wch said deputie, and the greatest prt of the sd Assistants, being prsent, tooke the Oaths to their said places apprtaining respectively.

A Court of Assistants, at Mr. Goff's house, on ffryday, the 20th of Novemb. 1629.

Prsent,

Nov. 20.	Mr. John Wynthrope, *Gou^{r}no^{r}*,	Mr. Tho. Goff,
	Mr. John Humfry, *Dept. Go^{r}*,	Mr. Wm. Pinchion,
	Sr. Richard Saltonstall,	Mr. Colson,
	Mr. Thomas Dudley,	Mr. Matt. Cradock,
	Mr. Thomas Adams,	Mr. George Harwood,
	Mr. Nathaniell Wright,	Mr. John Revell,
	Mr. Hutchins,	Mr. Increase Noell,

The espetiall occasion of this meetinge was to advise of a Course for bringing in of monyes for paym^{t} of Marryners' Wages, fraight of Shipps, & other debts; and thervpon Mr. Cradock acquainted those prsent what somes he had disburse[d] for accompt of the Company, and what more was owing for Marryner's Wages vpon the Shipps Talbot, Mayflower, and fower Sisters, & for the fraight of those Shipps,

Kellam Browne, and William Colbron. (The Agreement is in *Hutchinson's Collection of Documents*, p. 25, and *Young's Chron. of Mass.* 279.) On the 26th of the same month the transfer was voted; and Winthrop's name is seen for the first time in the records of the meetings of the Company, on the 15th of October, only five days previous to his election to the office of Governor.

amounting to 1200 [lb], &c., & upwards; wch the Court thinke fit & Order to bee first paid before any other debts. And Mr. Gou[r]no[r] desiring to haue power from the Court to Graunt Warrants for paym[t] of monyes, as was formrly accustomed, the same was condiscended vnto, and a Warrant was now made & signed by the Gou[r]no[r] and deputie, directed to Mr. Harwood, the Treasurer, for paym[t] of 800 [lb] to Mr. Cradock, soe soone as mony shall come to his hands. A.D. 1629.

Some debate was had concerning Mr. John and Sam. Browne complayning that their goods, praised in New England, are vndervalued, and divers things omitted to bee praised; wher[ein] they desire to haue reliefe, & justice done. It is thervpon thought fitt, that if they can prduce prfe therof, then they are to bee releiued heere; Otherwise the same is to bee suspended, and all the obieccons they can make to bee taken notice of & recomended to Mr. Gou[r]no[r], to bee considered of and determined after his arrivall in New England, when he may hear the praisers answers to those obieccons; and in the meane tyme Mr. Cradock to pay the mony Charged vpon him for the sa[me.]

Mr. Beecher, Mr. of the Shipp Talbot, desired to haue in a bond, wch hee entered into, to Mr. Pratt, for Wages or allowance to a Chirurgion for the lyons Whelpe, who was to haue 2[s]. 6[d]. for every prson in the Shipp, according to an agreem[t] made wth them — The nomber of the prsons being about 125, of wch Mr. Beecher had formrly deliurd a prticuler note to Mr. Goff. The Court conceiving the said allowance to bee exorbitant, & more then is vsuall in like Cases, doe desire that the Chirurgion bee appointed to bee heere the next genrall Court, and then such conclusion is to bee made wth him as shalbe fitt.

Lastly, Mr. Smith, the Accomptant, attended them wth their accompts; and after prusall therof, it appearing that divers were behynde wth their whole subscripcons or prt therof, It was thought fitt that, for the prsent supply of monys, Ticketts should bee sent vnto them to desire them to send in the somes by them vnderwritten; to wch purpose a list of

A.D. 1629. their names & somes was now drawne out, and Ticketts are forthwth to bee made accordingly.

A Gen^rall Court on Wensday, the 25th of November, 1629.

Prsent,

Nov. 25.

Mr. Jo. Wynthrope *Go^r*,	Capt. Waller,
Mr. Jo. Humfry, *Dept.*,	Mr. Whyte,
Sr. R. Saltonstall,	Mr. Dauenport,
Mr. Isack Johnson,	Mr. Huson,
Mr. Thomas Adams,	Mr. Backhouse,
Mr. Nathaniell Wright,	Mr. Ffoxcroft,
Mr. Theoph. Eaton,	Mr. Woodgate,
Mr. Wm. Pinchion,	Mr. Bradshawe,
Capt. Venn,	& others.
Mr. Encrease Noel,	
Mr. Matthew Cradock,	

A lre of the fift of Septemb. from Mr. Endecot, the Gou^r-no^r, & others in New England, was now read;[1] as also Mr. Gou^rno^r acquainted those prsent wth certaine testymony sent over against one W^m. Rovell, Mr. of a shipp of [blank,] concerning some insolent & misbeseeming speeches vttered by him in contempt of the Company's pruiledges & gou^rnm^t; wch is to bee taken into further consideracon, & hee prceeded against, when other certyficates are come, wch are expected, concerning that business.

This day being one of the 4 quarter dayes appointed by the Charter for keeping a Genrall Court, the Genrall business of the Plantacon should have bin treated on; but by reason of the small appearance, & shortness of tyme, nothing was done therin: only the Gou^rno^r made relacon of the prceedings of the ioynt Comittee concerning the setling of the ioynt Stock; That notwthstanding there had bin all good concordencie & faire prceeding betweene them, yett, by reason of the greatness of the bus[iness,] and the smalness of the supplyes, they could not bring the same to a wished effect, but only had reduced it

[1] This letter is not preserved.

to certaine prposicons to bee reprsented to the Consideracon of the Company, to receive their resolucon therin. A.D. 1629.

The Accomptant having made an estimate of the Acc[ounts,] the ioynt Stock appeares to bee in arreare 3000 lb & upwards. Towards wch 3000 lb there is 1900 in Subscripcons not yett brought in, & about 8 or 900 lb vpon fraight of Shipps.

There wilbe a necessitie for supply of necessarys for the Companyes servants,	2000
for Marchandizes for Trade,	0500
for Munition & Artillery for ffortificacon,	0500

Soe as there being an inevitable necessitie of supply of mony, ether to revyve the old Stock or to raise a new, the prposicons were now expressed, viz.

1. That all the formr Adventurers should double their formr subscripcons.

2. That the servants, Cattle, & all Marchandizes or prvisions belonging to the ioynt Stock, should be sold, & the vnderwryters bee paid their prporcons of what shall accrew or arise therof.

3. Or lastly, that the Old Stock bee putt over to certaine vndertakers, vpon such conditions as can bee agreed on, & they to goe on wth the Worke & mannage the business, to beare all charges, & to stand to prfitt & loss, & to pay the vnderwryters their principall by them brought, at the end of 7 yeares; and this to bee vnderstood not to exclude any who haue affecon to this business, but that they may come in vnder those vndertakers for such somes as they shall thinke fitt to adventure; but that for the better furtherance and facilitating the business, the same to bee managed by few hands. And for th' incouragmt of such vndertakers the Comittee haue thought of certaine inducemts, viz.

That they shall haue the one halfe of the Beauor;

The sole making of Salt;

The sole transpor[tacon] of passengers; servants & goods to bee transported at reasonable rate;

To bee allowed a reasonable prfitt vpon all such prvisions as they shall keepe in Magazine there for the vse and reliefe of th' inhabitants.

A.D. 1629. All wch prmises the Gou^r^no^r^ recomended to the consideracon of those prsent; but by reason of the small appearance nothing could bee determined; and therefore a spetiall Court is appointed for this purpose on Munday next, & the whole Company to bee sumoned by Ticketts to bee prsent.

Lastly, vpon the Mocon of Mr. Whyte, to the end that this business might bee preeeded in wth the first intencon, wch was cheifly the Glory of God, & to that purpose that their meetings might bee sanctyfied by the prayers of some faithfull Ministers resident heere in London, whose advice would bee likewise requisite vpon many occasions, The Court thought fitt to admitt into the freedome of this Company Mr. Jo. Archer, & Mr. Phillip Nye, Ministers heere in London, who being heere prsent kindly accepted therof; Also Mr. Whyte did recomend vnto them Mr. Nathaniell Ward, of Standon.[1]

A Gen^r^all Court at Mr. Goff's house, on Monday, the last of Novemb. 1629.

Prsent,

Nov. 30. Mr. John Winthrop, *Go^r^*, Mr. John Humfry, *Dep^t^.*,
Mr. Geo. Harwood, *Trer*,
Sr. Richard Saltonstal, Mr. Thomas Adams,
Mr. Isack Johnson, Mr. Theophilus Eaton,
Mr. Thomas Goff, Mr. Encrease Noell,
Mr. Tho. Dudley, Mr. John Revell,
Mr. Nath. Wright, Mr. Willm. Pinchon,
Mr. Matt. Cradock, *Assistants*,
wth many of the Genralitie — 25.

It was prpounded to the Court that Wheras the ioynt Stock was engaged to the value of 2500 ^lb^, prsent debt, and there was necessarilie required 1500 ^lb^ prsent disbursm^t^ for maintenance of the servants now in the Plantacon, and for Comodities for Truck & Munition, That the Adventurers would bee pleased to double their form^r^ Subscripcons; wch being not

[1] The author of "*The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America.*" See *Young's Chron. of Mass.* p. 112, n. in relation to Archer and Nye.

assented vnto by the Court, It was prpounded & agreed by genrall consent, that ten prsons should bee Chosen, 5 of the Adventurers, & fiue of the Planters, wch should take the ioynt Stock at the true value, and take vpon them the engagm^ts & other Charges; for wch there should bee appropriated to the ioynt Stock, for 7 yeares, these pruiledges wch follow, viz. A.D. 1629.

1. Halfe the Trade of the Beavo^rs, & all other furrs;
2. The sole making of Salt;
3. The ffurnishing of a Magazine at sett rates;
4. The sole transportacon of Passengers & goods at certaine Rates.

ffor wch end there was a Comittee appointed to value the Joynt Stock, viz.

Mr. White, of Dorchester, Mr. [blank] Webb,
Mr. Thomas Goff, Mr. Increase Noell,

Who taking vpon them the Charge of the said business, did the next day (the Court then sitting vpon adiornm^t) make Certificate of their prceedings to this effect, viz.

the first the 10*th m^o*. 1629.[1]

That wheras divers somes had bin disbursed in publique Charges, as Transporting of Ministers & their ffamilies, Amunition, &c., wch were not now to bee valued to the vndertakers, as beinge to remaine alwayes to the Plantacon; and wheras many of the servants wch were transported at extraordinary Charge doe not prve soe vsefull as was expected, and soe will not yeild the vndertakers any such benefitt as may answere their Charge, (divers of the Cattle & prvisions likewise miscarryinge, through want of experience in the begininge of such a worke,) they could not fynde the said Stock to remaine cleere & good, (the debts discharged) aboue one-third prt of the whole some wch hath bin Adventured from the first to this prsent day; wch value, vpon due examinacon, & long debate, was allowed by all the Court. Oct. 10.

Whervpon it was prpounded & agreed by the whole Court,

[1] This line is in a different hand-writing.

A.D. 1629. that the Old Adventurers (in leiu of this abatem[t] of ⅗ of their Adventures,) should haue an addition of a double prporcon of land, according to the first prporcon of 200 Acr[s] for 50 [lb]; and that they should haue libtie to putt in what somes they pleased, to bee added to their former Adventures, soe as they subscribed the same before the first day of January now next followinge; and such as liue in the Country, remote from the Cittie of london, to enter their Subscripcons before the second of ffebr next; And that any of the said Adventurers may take out their Adventures after the aforesaid rate; And further, that it should bee lawfull for all other prsons, (wth consent of any 3 of the vndertakers,) to put in what somes of mony they please, to bee traded in the ioynt Stock, (vpon such allowance to the Comon Stock for publique vses, in regard that they shall beare noe part in the formr losses,) as the said Adventurers, or 3 of them, shall agree wth them for, from tyme to tyme; and that all Adventurers shall pay in their Adventures in such tyme & mannr as shalbe agreed betweene them and the sd vndertakers, or any three of them.

It was also agreed by the Court, that in regard the vndertakers should beare the greatest charge & burthen, and all other Adventurers should haue equall part of the gaine, if any did prceede, that therfore they should haue 5 [lb] in the hundred cleere gaines of the said ioynt Stock, both in & out, all Charges beinge deducted.

And that the ioynt Stock being thus managed, at the end of 7 yeares, (to bee accompted from this day,) aswell the said Stock, as the prceede & prfitt therof, to bee devyded to every man prportionably, according to his Adventure, and all the said Preuiledges then to cease, and all prsons to bee at libtie to dispose of their prts in the ioynt Stock at their owne pleasures.

Herevpon the Court thought fitt to desire the gent. herevnder named to vndertake the ioynt Stock vpon the Tearmes before prpounded, viz.

Mr. John Winthrop, *the Gou^r^no^r^*,	Mr. Matt. Cradock,	A.D.
Sr. Richard Saltonstall, *K^t^*.,	Mr. Nathaniell Wright,	1629.
Isack Johnson, Esqr.,	Mr. Theophilus Eaton,	
Mr. Thomas Dudley,	Mr. Thomas Goff,	
Mr. John Revell,	Mr. James Younge.	

Wch gent., (vpon much entreaty of the Court,) did accept of the said Charge, and accordingly were chosen to bee vndertakers, to haue the Sole managinge of the ioynt Stock, wth all things incydent thervnto, for the space of 7 yeares, as is aforesaid.

And it was agreed to desire & nominate Mr. Aldersey to bee Treasvrer for the said Companie; and that all monyes wch shall come in to the ioynt Stock, or that shalbe giuen to the Comon Stock, shalbe paid vnto him, and to bee issued out vpon Warrant vnder the hands of the said vndertakers, or any three of them, as occasion shall require.[1]

It was also Ordered by the Court, that the vndertakers should prvyde a sufficient nomber of Shipps, of good force, for transporting of passingers, at the rate of 5 ^lb^ a person, & 4 ^lb^ a Tonn for goods; wch shalbe ready to sett saile from London by the first day of March; and that if any passingers bee to take Shipp at the Isle of Wight, the Shipps shall stopp there 24 howers; and that all such as intend to pass over shall giue in their names, wth 40 ^s^ towards their fraight, to one of the said vndertakers abyding in London, in the Michaelmas Tearme before; and shall deliuer their goods on Shipp Board before the 20th of ffebr following; and shall giue security for the rest of their fraight as they can agree wth the said vndertakers, ether for mony to bee p^d^ heere, or for Comoditie to bee deliured in the Plantacon.

ffurther it was agreed, that for the transportacon of Children this rate shalbe kept, viz. Sucking children not to bee reckoned; such as vnder 4 yeares of age, 3 for one; vnder 8, 2 for one; vnder 12, 3 for 2. And that a Shipp of 200 Tonn

[1] It does not appear that any trade was ever carried on, or any dividend made, under this arrangement.

A.D. 1629. shall not carry aboue 120 passengers Compleate; and for other Shipps after the same prporcon. And for Goods homewards The fraight shalbe for Beauo^rs 3 ^lb pr Tonn, and for other Comodities 40 ^s pr Tonn; and such as will haue their goods assured, shall pay 5 ^lb pr C.

Concerning the Magazine, It is likewise agreed, that the vndertakers should furnish the Plantacon wth all such Comodities as they shall send for; And the Planters to take them off and retaile them at their pleasure, allowing the vndertakers 25 ^lb in the hundred aboue all Charges; and the Planters to haue libty to dispose of their prt of the Beauo^rs at their owne will; and every man may fetch or send for any Comoditie for his owne vse where or how he please, soe as hee Trade not wth interlopers, soe long as hee may bee furnished suffitiently by th' Adventurers at the rates aforesaid.

Lastly, it is Ordered, that in regard this Court could not sett downe prticuler direccon for every thinge wch may bee fitt to bee considered & prvyded for, in all or any of the matters aforesaid, therefore the said vndertakers should haue power to meete & consult about the prmises; and what Orders and direccons they, or the greater nomber of them, shall sett down, shalbe accompted legall, & to bee duly observed vntill it shalbe thought fitt by this Court to alter or determyne the same.

Provyded alwayes, that if those that intend to inhabite vpon the Plantacon shall, before the first of January next, take vpon them all the said engagem^ts and other Charges of the ioynt Stock, then the power & pruiledges of the vndertakers to determine, and all Trade, &c. to be free.

A Gen^rall Court, holden at Mr. Goff's house, on the 15th of Decemb^r, 1629.

Prsent,

Dec. 15.

Mr. Jo. Humfry, *Dep^t.*,
Sr. Richard Saltonstall,
Assistants. Mr. Matth. Cradock,
Mr. Nathaniell Wright,
Mr. John Revell,
Mr. Geo. Harwood,
Mr. Wm. Pinchion,
Mr. Increase Noell,
Capt. Venn,
Mr. Thomas Adams,

wth divers of the Genralitie. — 17.

Mr. Deputie Caused to bee read the Acts & Orders made at the last gen[r]all Court of the 30th of Novemb.; wch being of great Consiquence, as namely for Setling the Joynt Stock and Managing of the whole busines, it was desired the same should receive confirmacon by this Court. Upon debate wherof some excepcons was taken by those who had double[d] their Adventures, conceiving themselues to bee wronged in hauing both their somes drawne downe to soe lowe a rate as ⅓ prt; alleadginge that the second some was pd in vpon a prposicon of Trade, wch went not forward, and not as vnto the ioynt Stock for the Plantacon. A.D. 1629.

This business received a large discussion, and Capt. Waller & Mr. Vassall were content to giue the first 50 [lb]. to the Plantacon, soe as their other 50 [lb]. might goe on wholy in this new Stock; but forasmuch as this concern'd divers others who were in the same case, and that it could not bee done wthout alteracon of the Act made the 30 of Novemb., wch was done by a gen[r]all Court, vpon mature & deliberate consideracon, and that the vndertakers would not continue their said vndertaking but vpon the same Conditions wch were then prpounded & concluded on,

This Court, in Conclusion, put it to the question, and by ereccon of hands every prticuler of the form[r] Court was ratyfied & confirmed. And the matter in difference wth them who had doubled their adventures being noe more to each of them then betweene 50 [lb]. & 33 [lb]. 6[s]. 8[d]., was by mutuall consent referred to the 3 Ministers heere prsent, Mr. Dauenport, Mr. Nye, & Mr. Archer, who are to reconcile the same betweene the New vndertakers & them.

A.D. 1630. Feb. 10. *A Gen^rall Court, holden at Mr. Goff's house, on Wensday, the 10th of ffebr.* 1629.

Prsent,

Mr. John Winthrope, *Gou^rno^r*,	Mr. Thomas Adams,
Mr. John Humfry, *Dept.*	Mr. George Harwood,
Mr. Isack Johnson,	Mr. Increase Noell,
Mr. Matthew Cradock,	Mr. Nathaniell Wright,
Mr. Theophilus Eaton,	Mr. John Revell,
	Mr. Wm. Pinchon,

wth many others of the Genralitie.

Forasmuch as the furtherance of the Plantacon will necessarylie require a great & continuall Charge, wch cannot wth convenyence bee defrayed out of the ioynt Stock of the Comp. wch is ordained for the maintenance of the Trade, wthout endangering the same to bee wasted & exhausted, It was therefore prpounded that a Comon Stock should bee raysed from such as beare good affeccon to the Plantacon & the prpagacon thereof, and the same to bee employed only in defraym^t of publique Charges — as maintenance of Ministers, Transportacon of poore famylyes, building of Churches & ffortyfycacons, & all other publique & necessary occasions of the Plantacon; and the Court doe thinke fitt & Order that 200 Acres of Land shalbe allotted for every 50 ^lb., & soe prportionable for what somes shalbe brought in by any to this purpose. And Mr. George Harwood is chosen Trer. for this accompt of the Comon Stock, wch hee accepted of; who is to receiue all such mony as shalbe by any sent in, and to issue out the same vpon Warrant vnder the hands of any 2 or More of the Vndertakers. And it is further agreed on & Ordered, That an Order bee drawne vpp & published vnder the Seale of the Company, to signifie & declare to what vses all such monyes as are giuen to the Comon Stock shalbe employed, and what land shalbe allotted to each man that giues thervnto, aswell for their Sattisfaccon as th' incouragm^t. of others to soe laudable and Charitable a worke; and it was further taken

into consideracon, & Ordered, that this allottm^t^, or devision of land, shall not priudice the right of any th' Adventurers who are to haue land & haue not yett the same allotted out vnto them, nor vnto those whose land is already sett out according to the form^r^ Order & direccon of this Court; yett nevertheless, it is further agreed, that if for good & weighty reasons, & for the benefitt of the plantacon in gen^r^all, there shalbe occasion to alter any prticuler man's allottm^t^, The said prty is to haue such due recompence for the same as, in the wisdome of the Gou^r^no^r^ & Comp., there resident, shalbe thought reasonable & expedient. A.D. 1630.

Mocon was made on the behalfe of S^r^. Willm. Brewerton, who by vertue of a late Pattent prtends right & Tytle to some prt of the Land wthin the Comp^s^. pruiledges & Plantacon in New England; yett, nevertheless, hee is content [intends][1] not to contest wth the Comp. but desires that a prportionable quantitie of land might be allotted vnto him for the accommodacon of his people & Servants now to bee sent over. Wch request the Court taking into due consideracon, doe not thinke fitt to enter into any prticuler cappitulacon wth him therein, nor to sett out any allotm^t^ of land for him more then the 600 Acres hee is to haue by vertue of his Adventure in the ioynt Stock,[2] nor to acknowledg any thinge due vnto him as of right by vertue of his sd Pattent, nor to giue any consideracon in case hee should relinquish his prtended right; but they are well content hee should ioyne wth them in the prsecucon of this business, according to their Charter, and doe prmise, in the meane tyme, that such servants as hee shall [send] over to inhabite vpon the Plantacon, shall receive all courteous respect, and bee accomodated wth land, & what els shalbe necessary, as other the Servants of the Company. Wch answere was deliured vnto those that were sent from him; and the Court desired also that Capt. Waller & Mr. Eaton would signifie

[1] These words are in the original MS. thus: intends is content.

[2] See *Ante*, p. 16.

A.D. 1630. the companye's affection & due respect vnto him, hee hauing written to them about this business.[1]

A wryting of grevances of Mr. Samuell & John Browne was prsented to this Court, wherin they desire recompence for loss & damage sustained by them in New England; wch this Assembly taking into consideracon, doe thinke fitt that vpon their submitting to stand to the Comp^{a}. fynall Order for ending of all differences betweene them, wch they are to signifie vnder their hands, Mr. Wright & Mr. Eaton are to heare their Complaint, & to sett downe what they in their Judgm^{ts} shall thinke requisite to bee allowed them for their prtended damage sustained, & soe to make a fynall end accordingly.[2]

Mr. Roger Ludlowe was now chosen & sworne an Assistant in the roome of Mr. Samuell Sharpe, who by reason of his absence had not taken the oath.

And lastly, vpon the peticon of Humphry Seale, the Beadle of this Company, the Court were content & agreed to giue him 20 Nobles, for his yeare's Salary ending at Christmas Last; wch is to bee paid by Mr. Aldersey the Treasorer out of the ioynt Stock.

[1] In *Mass. Archives*, title *Lands*, Vol. I. p. 1, is a record exhibiting the nature and extent of Sir Wm. Brereton's claim. According to that document, the deed from John Gorges, dated January 10, 1629, purports to convey to Brereton and his heirs "all the land in breadth lying from the east side of Charles River to the easterly side of the cape called Nahant, and all the lands lying in length twenty miles *northeast* into the main land from the mouth of the said Charles River, lying also in length twenty miles into the main land *northeast* from the said Cape Nahant." The word northeast is italicized here to call attention to the mistake in regard to the direction into the main land. The error may not have existed in the original deed.

[2] What "final end" was made of this business does not appear. Having been banished from the Colony, the expenses of emigration were of course an entire loss to the Brownes. They had remained in New England but five or six weeks, and their sacrifice of property was doubtless considerable. It is probable that a reasonable remuneration was allowed them. They were not adventurers in the general stock of the company, but on account of their respectability had been strongly recommended to the colonists, and were to have lands and privileges granted them as if subscribers for £50 each. The offices to which they were chosen indicate the estimation in which they were personally held.

Att a meeting of Assistants att Southampton, March 18*th*, 1629. A.D. 1630. Mar. 18.

Present,

Mr. Governo[r],	Mr. Humfrey,
Sr. Richard Saltonstall,	Mr. Nowell,
Mr. Johnson,	Mr. Pinchion,
Mr. Dudley,	Mr. Goffe.

It was ordered and concluded by erreccon of hands, that S[r]. Brian Janson, k[t]., Mr. Willm. Coddington, & Mr. Simon Bradstreete, gent., shalbe chosen in the roomes and places of Assist[ts] of Mr. Nathaniell Wright, Merch[t], Mr. Theophilus Eaton, & Mr. Thomas Goffe, of London, Merch[ts].

S[r]. Brian Janson was sworne an Assistant before the Govern[r] & Mr. Dudley y[e] same day.

March 23, 1629.

Mr. Willm. Coddington, Mr. Simon Bradstreete, & Mr. Thomas Sharpe, being formrly chosen Assistants, did nowe take the oath of Assistants before the Gou[r]n[r], Mr. Dudley, & other Assis[ts]. 1630. Mar. 23.

Att a Court of Assistants Aboard the Arbella, March 23, 1629.

Present,

Mr. John Winthrop, *Gou[r]n[r]*,	Mr. Willm. Coddington,
Sr. Rich. Saltonstall,	Mr. Tho. Sharpe,
Mr. Isaack Johnson,	Mr. Willm. Vassall,
Mr. Thomas Dudley,	Mr. Simon Bradstreete.

Mr. John Humfrey, (in regard hee was to stay behinde in England,) was discharged of his Deputy-shipp, & Mr. Thomas Dudley chosen Deputy in his place.

NOTE.

[With the meeting on board the Arbella, the proceedings of the Company in England were concluded. On the 29th of the same month, Winthrop and his associates set sail for the New World, carrying with them the Charter and the Government. At this point, then, the Proprietary administration terminated, and when those having the management of affairs met again in council, it was as a Colonial Government established on the soil where its authority was to be exercised.

But the Acts of the Corporation in England would be incomplete without the Letters of Instruction which, while the supreme direction rested with them, they transmitted to their agents in America. Though not contained in the regular Journal of the Company, they were a portion of its official transactions. They are inseparably connected with its other proceedings; and it is a matter of surprise that they were not registered in the same volume, as well as the "Form of Government" and other documents no better entitled to such an association. As containing a summary of the views and intentions of the men by whom the settlement of Massachusetts Bay was projected, and through whose agency it was accomplished, they may appropriately close the record of their legislative acts and deliberations. They are therefore inserted here, as copied directly from a transcript in the handwriting of the Secretary of the Company, which has been preserved in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds.]

THE COMPANY'S FIRST GENERAL LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS TO ENDICOTT AND HIS COUNCIL.

Laus Deo!

In GRAVESEND, the 17th of April, 1629.

LOVING FREINDS, Wee hartylie salute you. Wee haue receiued your Lre of the 13th of Septemb. by wch wee take notice of your safe arriveall, blessing God for it. Wee haue formerly requested Mr. Cradock, o^r^ Gou^r^no^r^ to wryte you of the receipt thereof, and to giue aduice how wee purposed to prceed in setting forward o^r^ plantacon;[1] whose Lres, if they bee come to yor handes, (as wee hope they are) will putt lyfe into yor affaires, and encourage you to prvyde for the entertainm^t^ of such as are now cominge. A.D. 1629. Apr. 17.

Since yor deprture, wee haue for the further strengthening of o^r^ graunt from the Councell at Plymoth, obtained a confirmacon of it from his Ma^ty^ by his Lres Pattents vnd^r^ the Broad Seale of England; by wch said Lres Pattents wee are incorporated into a body pôllitique, wth ample power to gou^r^ne & rule all his Ma^ts^. Subiects that reside wthin the Limitts of o^r^ Plantacon, as by the duplicate thereof vnder the Broad Seale, wch wee haue deliured to Mr. Sharpe to bee deliured to you doth fully appeare.[2]

And for that the prpagating of the Gosple is the thing wee doe prfess aboue all to bee o^r^ ayme in setling this Plantacon, wee haue bin carefull to make plentyfull prvision of Godly Ministers, by whose faithfull preachinge, godly conversacon, and exemplary lyfe, wee trust, not only those of o^r^ owne Nation wilbe built vp in the Knowledge of God, but also the Indians may in God's appointed tyme bee reduced to the obe-

[1] See page 8.

[2] The *original* Charter is now at the office of the Secretary of State, in Boston. It has upon it the certificate of Sir Charles Cæsar, Master in Chancery, that the oath of office was taken by Governor Cradock before him on the 18th of March, 1628, (1629.) The *duplicate* is preserved in the Athenæum at Salem.

A.D. 1629. dyence of the Gosple of Christ; One of them is well knowne to yor selfe, viz., Mr. Skelton, whom wee haue the rather desired to beare a prt in this worke, for that wee are informed yor selfe haue formrly received much good by his Ministry; hee cometh in the George Bonaventure, Mr. Thomas Cox. Another is Mr. Higgeson, a graue Man, & of worthy Comendacons; he cometh in the Talbott. The third is Mr. Bright, sometymes trained vpp vnder Mr. Davenport, who cometh in the Lyon's Whelp. Wee pray you, accomodate them all wth necessaryes as well as you may, and in convenyent tyme lett there bee houses built them according to the agreem^t wee haue made wth them, Coppyes wherof, as of all others wee haue entertained, shalbe sent you by the next Shipps, tyme not prmitting it now. Wee doubt not but these gent, yor Ministers, will agree lovingly togeather; and for Cherishinge of loue betwixt them wee pray you carry yor selfe impartiallie to all. For the Manno^r of the exercising their ministrie, & teaching both o^r owne people and the Indians, wee leave that to themselues, hoping they will make God's word the rule of their accons, and mutually agree in the discharge of their duties: And because their doctrine will hardly be well esteemed whose prsons are not reverenced, wee desire that both by yor owne example, and by Comanding all others to doe the like, o^r ministers may receive due hono^r.

Wee haue, in prsecucon of that good opinion wee haue alway had of you, confirmed you Gou^rno^r of o^r Plantacon, and ioyned in Comission wth you the three Ministers, namely, Mr. Francis Higgonson, Mr. Samuell Skelton, and Mr. Francis Bright; also, Mr. John and Mr. Samuell Browne, Mr. Thomas Graues, and Mr. Samuell Sharpe; and for that wee haue Ordered that the body of the Gou^rnm^t there shall consist of 13 prsons, wee are content the Old Planters that are now there wthin o^r Plantacon and Lymitts therof, shall chuse 2 of the discreetest and Juditiall Men from amongst themselues to bee of the Gou^rnm^t, that they may see wee are not wanting to giue them fitting respect, in that wee would haue their consent (if it may bee) in making wholsome constitucons for Gou^rnm^t;

Alwayes prvyded, that none shalbe chosen, or meddle in their choice, but such as will liue amongst vs and conforme themselues to o^r^ Gou^r^nm^t^. But if they shall refuse to prforme this o^r^ direccon, then wee hereby authorise you & those nominated to bee of the Councell aforesaid, to nominate & elect two such Men as in yor opinions you shall hold meete for that place & office; and for the other three wch wilbe wanting to make vpp the full nomber of 13, (wch wee haue styled the Councell of the Mattachusetts Bay) wee hereby authorize [you,] wth the aforenamed seaven prsons, to chuse and nominate them out of the whole body of the Companie, aswell of those that are there, as of those that are to come now, not doubting but, all partialitie sett apart, you will make choice of such men as may bee most vsefull & carefull to advance the gen^r^all good of o^r^ Plantacon. A.D. 1629.

And that it may appeare, aswell to all the world, as to the Old planters themselues, that wee seeke not to make them slaues, as it seemes by yor letter some of them thinke themselues to bee become by meanes of o^r^ Pattent,) wee are content they shalbe prtakers of such prviledges as wee, from his Matie: espetiall grace, wth great cost, fauor of prsonages of note, & much labor, haue obtained; and that they shalbe incorporated into this Socyetie, and enioy not only those lands wch form^r^ly they haue manured, but such a further prporcon as by th' advice and Judgm^t^ of yo^r^selfe, and the rest of the Councell, shalbe thought fitt for them, or any of them. And besides, it is still o^r^ purpose that they should haue some benefitt by the Comon Stock, as was by yor first Comission directed and appointed, wth this addicon, that if it bee held too much to take 30 pr cent. and the fraight of the goods for and in Consideracon of o^r^ Adventure & disbursm^t^ of o^r^ Monyes, to bee paid in Bevo^r^ at 6^s^ pr ^lb^. that you moderate the said Rate, as you wth the rest of the Councell shall thinke to bee agreeable to equitie & good Conscience. And o^r^ further Orders is, that none bee prtakers of any the aforesd pruiledges and prfitts, but such as bee peaceable Men, and of honest lyfe

A.D. 1629. and conuersacon, & desirous to liue amongst vs, and conforme themselues to good Order and governm^t^.

And as touching the old Planters, their earnest desire for the prsent to continue the planting of Tobacco, (a Trade by the Companie gen^r^ally disavowed, & vtterly disclaymed by some of the greatest adventurers amongst vs, who absolutely declared themselues vnwilling to haue any hand in this plantacon if wee intend to Cherish or prmitt the planting therof, or any other kinde than for a man's private vse for meere necessitie;) Wee are of opinion the old Planters will haue small encouragm^t^ to that employm^t^; for wee fynde heere, by late experience, that it doth hardly prduce the fraight and Custome; nether is there hope of amendm^t^, there being such great quantities made in other prts that ere long it is like to bee little worth. Nevertheless, if the old Planters, (for wee exclude all others,) conceive that they cannot otherwise prvyde for their livelyhood, wee leave it to the discretion of yo^r^selfe & the Councell there, to giue way for the p^r^sent to their planting of it in such mann^r^, and wth such restriccons, as you and the said Councell shall thinke fittinge; hauing an espetiall care, wth as much convenyence as may bee, vtterly [to] suppress the planting of it, except for meere necessitie; but, however, wee absolutely forbidd the sale of it, or the vse of it, by any of o^r^ owne or prticuler Men's servants, vnless vpon vrgent occasion for the benefitt of health & taken privately.

Mr. John Oldham came from New England not long before yor arrivall there, by whom wee haue had noe small disturbance in o^r^ business, having bin cast behinde at the least two months tyme in o^r^ voyage, through the varyetie of his vast conceipts of extraordinary gaine of 3 for one, prpounded to bee made & raised in 3 yeares, if hee might haue the Managinge of o^r^ Stock, prferring to bee contented for his owne employm^t^, soe hee might haue the overplus of the gaines; wth whom, after long tyme spent in sundry treaties, fynding him a man altogeather vnfitt for vs to deale with, wee haue at last left

him to his owne way: And, as wee are informed, hee, wth some others, are prvyding a vessell, and is mynded, as soone as hee can despatch, to come for New England, prtending to settle himselfe in Mattachusetts Bay, clayming a Tytle and right by a grant from S^r. Ferdinando Gorges' son, wch wee are well satisfyed by good councell is voyde in Lawe.[1] Hee will admitt of noe Tearmes of agreem^t, — vnlesse wee leaue him at libtie to trade for Beavo^r wth the [Indians,] wch wee deny to the best of o^r owne Planters; nether is hee satisfyed to trade himselfe wth his owne Stock & meanes, wch wee conceeve is so small that it would not much hinder vs, but hee doth interest other Men, who, for ought wee knowe, are never likely to bee benefitiall to the planting of the Country; their owne prticuler prfitts, (though to the overthrowe of the gen^rall plantacon,) being their chiefe ayme and intent. Now as wee shall vnwillingly doe any Act in debarringe such as were inhabitants before vs of that Trade, as in Conscience they ought to enioy, soe shall wee as vnwillingly prmitt any to appropriate that to their owne private lucar, wch wee, in o^r religious intencons, haue dedicated to the Comon Charge of building houses for God's worshipp, and fforts to defend such as shall come thither to inhabite. Wee feare, that as hee hath bin obstinate & vyolent in his opinions heere, soe hee will prsist and bee ready to drawe a partie to himselfe there, to the great hinderance of the Comon quiett. Wee haue therefore thought fitt, to giue you notice of his disposicon, to the end you may beware how you meddle wth him; as also that you may vse the best meanes you can to settle an agreem^t wth the old Planters, so as they may not harken to Mr. Oldham's dangerous though vaine prpositions. Wee fynde him a Man soe affected to his owne opinion, as not to bee removed from it, nether by reason nor any prswasion; and vnlesse hee may beare sway, and haue all things Carryed to his good likinge, wee haue little hope of quiett or comfortable subsistance where he shall make his aboad. A.D. 1629.

And therefore, if you shall see iust cause, Wee hereby

[1] See note on p. 31.

A.D. 1629. require you and the Councell there, to exercise that power wee haue, and o^r^ Previledges will beare vs out in it, to suppresse a mischiefe before it take too great a head; not that wee would wrong him, or any man that will liue peaceably wthin the limitts of o^r^ Plantacon. But as the prservacon of o^r^ pruiledges will cheifly depend (vnder God) vpon the first foundacon of o^r^ Gou^r^nm^t^, — soe if wee suffer soe great an affront as wee fynde is intended towards vs, by the prceedings of Mr. Oldham and his adherents, in o^r^ first beginings, we may bee sure they will take hart and bee emboldned to doe vs a farr greater iniurie hereafter. And therefore wee pray you and the Councell there to advise seriously togeather for the maintenance of o^r^ Pruiledges & peaceable gou^r^nm^t^; wch if it may be done by a Temprate course, wee much desire it, though wth some inconvenyence, soe as o^r^ gou^r^nm^t^ & pruiledges bee not brought in contempt, wishing rather there might bee such an vnion as might drawe the Heathen by o^r^ good example to the embracing of Christ and his Gosple, then that offence should be giuen to the Heathen and a scandall to o^r^ Religion through o^r^ disagreem^t^ amongst o^r^selues. But if necessitie require a more severe course, when faire meanes will not prvaile, wee pray you to deale as in yor discrecons you shall thinke fittest for the gen^r^all good and safety of the plantacon, & prservacon of o^r^ pruiledges. And because wee would not omitt to doe any thing wch might strengthen o^r^ right, wee would haue you (as soone as these shipps, or any of them, arrive with you, whereby you may have men to do it,) send 40 or 50 persons to Mattachusetts Bay[1] to inhabite there; which we pray you not to protract, but to doe it with all speede; and if any of o^r^ Company in prticuler shall desire to setle themselues there, or to send servants thither, wee desire all accommodacon and encouragm^t^ may bee giuen them thervnto, wherby the better to strengthen o^r^ possession there against all or any that shall intrude vpon vs, wch wee would not haue you by any meanes giue way vnto; wth this caution,

[1] Boston Harbor. See note on p. 35.

notwthstanding, that for such of o^r^ Countrymen as you finde there planted, soe as they bee willing to liue vnder Gou^r^nm^t^ you endeavor to giue them all fitting and due accommodacon as to any of o^r^selues; yea, if you see cause for it, though it bee wth more than Ordinarie pruiledges in point of Trade.[1] A.D. 1629.

Mr. Ralph Smith, a Minister, hath desired passage in o^r^ Shipps, wch was graunted him before wee vnderstood of his difference of Judgm^t^ in some things from o^r^ Ministers. But his prvisions for his voyage being shipt before notice was taken therof, through many occasions wherwth those intrusted wth this business have bin employed, and forasmuch as from hence it is feared there may growe some distraccon amonst you if there should bee any syding, though wee haue a very good opinion of his honesty, wee shall not [wee] hope offend in Charitie to feare the worst that may grow from their different Judgm^ts^. Wee haue therfore thought fitt to giue you this Order, that vnless hee wilbe conformable to o^r^ Gou^r^nm^t^ you suffer him not to remaine wthin the Limitts of o^r^ graunt.[2]

Wee take notice that you desire to haue Frenchmen sent you that might be experienced in making of Salt & plantinge of Vynes. Wee haue enquired dilligently for such, but cannot meete wth any of that nation. Nevertheless, God hath not left vs altogeather vnprovyded of a Man able to vndertake that worke, for that wee haue entertained Mr. Thomas Graves, a man comended to vs as well for his honestie as skill in many things very vsefull; first, hee prfesseth great skill in the making of Salt, both in ponds and panns, as also to fynde out salt Springs & Mynes; secondly, hee is well seene in Mynes & Mineralls, espetially about Iron Ore & Iron Workes; Thirdly, hee is able to make any sort of fortyficacons; fourthly, hee is

[1] There were at this time several settlers at Massachusetts Bay. Samuel Maverick, at Noddle's Island, (East Boston,) a courteous and hospitable man, but opposed to the puritan doctrines; William Blackstone, at Shawmut, (Boston,) an Episcopal clergyman; David Thompson, and a few others, at Thompson's Island and the coast adjacent; and Thomas Walford, the smith, at Mishawum, (Charlestown,) who probably held his land originally from Robert Gorges, and might be disposed to deny the validity of the patent of the Massachusetts Company. *Johnson's Hist. of N. E.; Frothingham's Charlestown.*

[2] See note on page 27.

A.D. 1629. well able to Surveigh and sett forth Lands. Hee hath bin a Travillor in divers foreaigne parts to gaine his experience. Therfore wee pray you take his advice touching the prmises, and where you intend to sett downe in to fortyfie & build a Towne, that it may bee qualified for good Ayre & Water, according to yor first Instruccons, and may haue as much naturall helpe as may bee, wherby it may wth the less labor and cost be made fitt to resist an Enemie. Soe soone as you haue made tryall of his sufficiencie, wryte vs yor opinion how long you conceive it will be fitt for us to continue him in our service; for that he is tyed to serve us one whole yeare absolutely, and two yeares more if wee should giue him order to stay soe long. Soe wee hope to receve yor advice tyme enough to give him order to stay out full 3 yeares, or to come home at the end of one yeare. His Salarie costs this Companie a great some of mony, besides wch (if hee remaine wth vs) the transporting of his wyfe, and building him a house, wilbe very chargable; wch wee pray you take into yor consideracon, that soe wee may continue or surcease this Charge as occasion shall require.[1]

In or next wee intend to send you a prticuler of such as are to haue land allotted & set out vnto them, that soe you may appoint vnto each man an equall prporcon by Lott, according to what is to bee allowed in the first devident; touching wch wee shall then giue you more large instruccons. Meane while, for such as haue sent over servants and Cattle in these Shipps, and for such as haue more to come in two other Shipps wch wee hope wilbe ready to sett saile wthin ten dayes, or desire is, they should ether bee accomodated at Nahumkeeke, or in the Mattachusetts Bay, or in both places, if they desire it, wth all the Convenyence that may bee; and for such grounds as shalbe allotted vnto them, that the same bee conveyed vnto them, if they desire it, at any tyme wthin one yeare after their entring vpon it, and to bee accompted as prt of their first devident. But if they shall dislike it at any tyme before a genrall distribucon bee made by lott to all the Adventurers, then they may

[1] See agreement with Graves, *ante*, page 20.

have libtie to doe it, and take in lieu therof as by lott shall fall out amongst other private Adventurers. A.D. 1629.

Wee recomend vnto you Sr. Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Isack Johnson, who send over servants and Cattle in these Shipps, desiring you will take care for their prsent accommodacon as aforesaid; and as for them, soe wee may not omitt to pray you likewise to giue all good accomodacon to o^r^ prsent Governo^r^, Mr. Matthew Cradock, who, wth some prticuler brethren of o^r^ Company, have deepely engaged themselues in their private adventures in these Shipps & those to come; and as wee hold these Men that thus deepely adventure in their private, to bee (vnder God) spetiall Instrum^ts^ for the advancing & strengthning of o^r^ Plantacon, wch is done by them wthout any Charge to the Companyes gen^r^all Stock, wherin notwthstanding, they are as deepe or deeper engaged then any other, soe being contented to bee debarred from all private Trading in furrs for 3 yeares, wee doe hold it very requisite in all other their desires to giue them all accomodacon & furtherance that reasonably may be prpounded by them, or any for them; their good beginings in the infancie of o^r^ Plantacon worthylie deserving of vs all favor and furtherance.

Wee haue caused a Comon Seale to bee made, wch wee send by Mr. Sharpe.

If you want any Swyne, wee haue agreed wth those of New Plymouth that they deliu^r^ you six Sowes wth pigg, for wch they are to bee allowed 9 ^lb^. in accompt of what they owe vnto Mr. Goffe, deputie: And for Goats, wee haue bought 42 for the gen^r^all & prticuler men's accompts, wch shalbe sent you by these and the next shipps, or at least wise soe many of them, as they can convenyently carrie.

Wee haue followed yor advice, and sent most of o^r^ Guns Snaphance, bastard muskett bore; and wee haue also sent store of Powder & Shott, Grayne for Seede, both wheat, Barley, & Rye, in the Chaff, &c. As for fruit Stones and Kernells, the tyme of the yeare fitts not to send them now, soe wee purpose to doe it pr o^r^ next. Tame Turkyes shalbe now sent you if may bee, if not pr other Shipps. Wee are disappointed

A.D. 1629. of the prvisions ordered to haue bin sent you for yo^r^selfe and Mrs. Endecote, but, God willing, they shall come by the next.

Wee haue made o^r^ servants apparell of Cloth & Lether; wch Lether is not of Oyle Skins, for wee found them over deere; yet if this prve not prfittable, vpon yor second advice wee will send you Oyle Skins;

For such of o^r^ Nation as sell Munition, Gunns, or other furniture, to arme the Indians against vs, or teach them the vse of Armes, wee would haue you to apprhend them and send them prison^r^s for England, where they will not escape severe punishm^t^, being expressly against the Proclamacon.

You have had form^r^ caution giuen you to take heede of beeing too secure in trusting the Indians, wch wee againe Comend to yor Care; and that you may bee the better able to resist both fforaigne Enemies & the Natives, if ether should assaile you, wee pray you lett all such as liue vnder o^r^ Gou^r^nment, both o^r^ servants and other Planters & their servants, bee exercised in the vse of Armes, and certaine tymes appointed to Muster them; In wch business Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Graues wilbe assistant to you. Mr. Sharpe is by vs entertained to bee Mr. Gunn^r^ of o^r^ Ordnance; In wch service hee is to employ soe much of his tyme as the charge of that office doth require, and in the rest hee is to follow other imploym^ts^ of o^r^ Gou^r^no^rs^ & others, for whose employm^t^ hee is prticularly sent over.

Inclosed you shall receive a factory of such prvision of victuall and othe necessaryes as wee haue sent for the Gen^r^all accompt, to wch wee referr you, nothing doubting but you wilbe a prvident Steward to husband o^r^ prvisions to the best advantage. Wee also send you the prticuler names of such as are entertained for the Companyes service; amongst wch wee hope you fynde many religious, discreete, & well ordered prsons, wch you must sett over the rest, devyding them into famylies, placing some wth the Ministers, and others vnder such as beeing honest Men, (and of their own Calling as neere as may bee,) may haue care to see them well educated in their gen^r^all Callings as Christians, and prticuler according to their gen^r^all trades or fitness in disposicon to learne a trade. And

wheras amongst such a nomber, (notwthstanding o^r^ Care to purge them,) there may still remaine some libertines, wee desire you to bee carefull that such, (if any bee,) may bee forced, by inflicting such punishm^t^ as their offences shall deserve, wch is to bee (as neere as may bee) according to the Lawes of this Kingdome, to conforme themselues to good Order; wth whom, after admonition giuen, if they amend not, wee pray you prceede wthout partiallitie to punish them as the nature of their fault shall deserve; and the like course you are to hold both wth planters & their servants; for all must liue vnder Gou^r^nm^t^ & a like lawe. And to the end you may not doe any thing contrarie to Lawe nor the power graunted vs by his Ma^ts^ Lres Patents, wee haue, as aforesaid, sent you the duplicate of the lres Patents vnder the Great Seale of England, ordering and requiring you, and the rest of the Councell there, not to doe any thinge, ether in inflicting punishm^t^ on Malefacto^rs^, or otherwise, contrarie to, or in derogacon of the said lres Pattents; but, if occasion require, wee authorise you and them to prceede according to the power you haue. Nevertheless, wee desire, (if it may bee,) that Errors may bee reformed wth lenitie or mylde Correccon; and if any prve incorrigable, & will not bee reclaimed by gentle correccon, ship such prsons home by the Lyon's Whelpe, rather then keep there to infect or to bee an occasion of Scandall vnto others; wee being fully prswaded that if one or two bee soe reshipped back, and certificate sent home of their misdemeano^r^, it wilbe a Terror to the rest, and a meanes to reduce them to good conformitie. And, aboue all, wee pray you bee carefull that there bee none in o^r^ prcincts prmitted to doe any iniurie, (in the least kinde,) to the heathen people; and if any offend in that way lett them receive due Correccon. And wee hold it fitting you publish a Proclamacon to that effect, by leaving it fixed vnder the Companye's Seale in some eminent place, for all to take notice, at such tyme as both the heathen themselues, as well as o^r^ people, may take notice of it. And for the avoyding of the hurt that may follow through o^r^ much familiaritie wth the Indians, wee conceive it fitt that they bee not A.D. 1629.

A.D. 1629. prmitted to come to yor plantacon but at certaine tymes and places to bee appointed them. If any of the Saluages prtend right of inheritance to all or any prt of the Lands graunted in o^r Pattent, wee pray you endeavo^r to prchase their Tytle, that wee may avoyde the least scruple of intrusion.

Wee haue, in the form^r prt of o^r lre, Certyfyed you of the good hope wee haue of the loue and vnanimus agreem^t of o^r Ministers, they having declared themselues to vs to bee of one Judgment, & to bee fully agreed on the mann^r how to exercise their ministry; wch wee hope wilbe by them accordingly prformed. Yett, because it is often found that some busie prsons, (led more by their will then any good warrant out of God's word) take opportunitie of moving needless questions to stirr vp strife, and by that meanes to begett a question, and bring men to declare some different Judgm^t, (most comonly in things indifferent,) from wch small beginings great mischeifs haue followed, Wee pray you, and the rest of the Councell, that if any such disputes shall happen among you, that you suppress them, and bee carefull to maintaine peace and vnitie.

Wee desire you to take notice of one Lawrence Leech, whom we haue found a carefull & painfull man, and wee doubt not but hee will continue his dilligence; lett him haue deserving respect. The like wee say of Richard Waterman, whose cheife employm^t wilbe to gett you good venison.

Wee haue sent six Shipwrights, of whom Robert Molton is cheif. These Men's entertainm^t is very chargable to vs; and by agreem^t it is to bee borne two thirds at the Charge of the gen^rall Companie, and the other third is to bee borne by Mr. Cradock, o^r Gou^rno^r, and his Assotiatts interessed in a private Stock. Wee hope you wilbe carefull to see them soe employed as may countervaile the Charge, desiring you to agree wth Mr. Sharpe that their labo^r may bee employed $\frac{2}{3}$ for the gen^rall Companie, and $\frac{1}{3}$ for Mr. Cradock and his Assotiats; praying you to accomodate the sd Mr. Cradock's people in all fitting mann^r, as hee doth well deserve.

Such Cattle, both Horss, Mares, Cowes, Bulls, and Goates, as are shipped by Mr. Cradock, are to bee devyded in equall

halfes twixt him & the Companie; wch was omitted to bee done heere for avoyding partialitie; soe you must doe it equally there. A.D. 1629.

Wee pray you to bee carefull to make vs what returnes you possibly may, the better to enable vs to send out a fresh supply. Wee hope you haue converted the Comodities you carryed wth you for Truck into Beavor, Otter, or other ffurrs, wch wee pray you send vs by ye Talbot; as also any other Comodities you haue prvyded in readyness against the Shipps coming thither; but pray doe not detaine her any longer tyme to Cutt Tymber or any other gross Ladinge, for shee is at 150 lb. a Month Charges, wch will soon eat out more then the goods shee should stay for is worth. Wherfore, pray make what expedicon you can to vnlade her goods, and to put such things aboard her as you haue ready, and send her hetherward againe as soone as you may.

Wee haue sent fiue weigh of salt in the Whelpe, and ten weigh in the Talbot. If there bee any shallopps to bee had to fish wthall, and the season of the yeare fitt, pray lett the ffishermen, (of wch wee send 6 from Dortchester,) togeather wth some of the Shipps Company, endeavor to take ffish, and lett it bee well saued with the said Salt, and packed vpp in Hogsheads, or otherwise, as shalbe thought fitt, and send it home by the Talbott or Lyon's Whelpe. Now, forasmuch as the Lyon's Whelpe belongeth to the Companie, you may (if there bee hope to doe good by it) keepe her there some tyme after the Talbott; but vnless it bee to very good purpose, doe not detaine her, but lett her come home in Companie of the Talbott. The Georg bonaventure is to land her passingers, & other things belonging to the Genrall Companie or to prticuler Men, and soe sett sayle for New found land; and wee pray you lett it be yor care to dispatch her as soone as may bee.

William Ryall and Thomas Brude, Cooprs and Cleavors of Tymber, are entertained by vs in halfes wth Mr. Cradock or Gor; pray ioyne others that can assist them vnto them, and lett them prvide vs some Staves, and other Tymber of all

A.D. 1629. sorts, to bee sent vs by the Talbott, Whelpe, or the other 2 Shipps that come after. But wee pray you consider the Charge of these Shipps, & detaine them not for small matters. Rather vse all dilligence to send them away.

If, at the Arivall of this Shipp, Mr. Endecott should bee deprted this lyfe, (wch God forbidd,) or should happen to dye before the other Shipps arrive, wee authorise you, Mr. Skelton, and Mr. Samuell Sharpe, to take care of o^r affaires, and to gou^rne the People according to Order, vntill further Order. And to the end the Saboth may bee celebrated in a religious mann^r, wee appoint that all that inhabite the plantacon, both for the gen^rall and prticuler imploym^ts, may surcease their labo^r every Satterday throughout the yeare at 3 of the Clock in the afternoone; and that they spend the rest of that day in Catichising and prparacon for the Saboth, as the Ministers shall direct.

If it shall please God to take away by death any of the 13 that shalbe chosen and appointed for the Councell, (of wch yo^rselfe or yor Successo^r is to bee one,) in such case the then being Gou^rno^r & the survyving Councell shall from tyme to tyme make choice of one or more to supply the place of such as shalbe wanting; and that there may noe difference arise about the appointing of one to bee minister wth those you send to inhabite at Mattachusetts Bay, wee will haue you, (in case the ministers cannot agree amongst themselues who shall vndertake that place,) to make choice of one of the three by lott; and on whom the lott shall fall hee to goe wth his famylie to prforme that worke.

Wee haue advised you of the sending of Willm. Ryall and Thomas Brude, Cleavers of Tymber. But indeed the said Thomas his name is Brand, & not Norton [1]; but there is one Norton, a Carpenter, whom wee pray you respect as hee shall deserve.

There is one Richard Ewstead, a Wheelewright, who was Comended to vs by Mr. Davenport for a very able man,

[1] (?) Brude.

though not wthout his imprfeclons. Wee pray you take notice of him, and regard him as hee shall well deserve. The benefitt of his labor is to bee ⅔ for the genrall Companie, and ⅓ for Mr. Cradock, or Gournor, being his Charges is to bee borne according to that prportion; and wthall wee pray you take care that their charges who are for partable employmt, whether in halfes or thirds, may bee equally defrayed by such as are to haue benefitt of their labors, according to each prtyes prporcon. Their seurall agreemts, or the Coppyes therof, shalbe (if God prmitt) sent you by the next Shipps. A.D. 1629.

Wee haue entertained Lambert Wilson, Chirurgion, to remaine wth you in the service of the plantacon; wth whom wee are agreed that hee shall serve this Companie and the other Planters that liue in the Plantacon, for 3 yeares; and in that time apply himselfe to cure not only of such as came from hence for the genrall and prticuler accompts, but also for the Indians, as from tyme to tyme hee shalbe directed by yorselfe or yor Successor & the rest of the Councell. And moreover hee is to educate & instruct in his Art one or more youths, such as you and the said Councell shall appoint, that may bee helpfull to him, and, if occasion serve, succeed him in the Plantacon; wch youth or youths fitt to learne that prfession lett bee placed wth him; of wch Mr. Hugesson's Sonne, if his father approue therof, may bee one, the rather because hee hath bin trayned vp in litterature; but if not hee then such other as you shall iudg most fittest, &c.

The 21 of Apr. in Grauesend.

The aforewritten is, for the most prt, the Coppie of or Genrall lre, sent you togeather wth or Pattent vnder the Broad Seale, and the Companye's Seale in Siluer, by Mr. Samuell Sharpe, passinger in the George, who wee thinke is yett ryding in the Hope; but, by meanes of Stormy weather, the Talbot & lyon's Whelpe are yet att Black Wall. By these Shipps that are to follow wee intend, God willing, to supply both in or advice and in or prvisions what is wanting now. In the meane Apr. 21.

A.D. 1629. whyle wee pray you accomodate business wth yor true endeavo^{rs} for the Gen^{r}all good in the best and discreetest mann^{r} that you may.

For the better Accomodacon of businesses, wee haue devyded the servants belonging to the Company into seu^{r}all famylies, as wee desire and intend they should liue togeather; a Coppy wherof wee send you heere inclosed, that you may accordingly appoint each man his Charge and dutie; yett it is not o^{r} intent to tye you soe strictly to this Direccon, but that, in yor Discrecon, as you shall see cause from tyme to tyme, you may alter or displace any as you shall thinke fitt. O^{r} earnest desire is that you take spetiall care, in settlinge these ffamilies, that the cheife in the familie (at least some of them) bee grounded in Religion; wherby morning and Evening famylie duties may bee duly prformed, and a watchfull eye held over all in each familie by one or more in each famylie to bee appointed thereto, that soe disorders may bee prvented, and ill weeds nipt before they take too great a head. It wilbe a business worthy yor best endeavo^{rs} to looke vnto this in the begining, and if need bee to make some exemplary to all the rest; otherwise yor governm^{t} wilbe esteemed as a scar-Crowe. O^{r} desire is to vse lenitie all that may bee; but, in case of necessitie, not to neglect the other, knowing that Correccon is ordained for the ffoole's back; and as wee intend not to bee wanting on o^{r} parts to prvyde all things needfull for the maintenance and sustenance of o^{r} servants, soe may wee iustly, by the lawes of God and Man, require obedyence and honest Carriage from them, wth fitting labo^{r} in their seu^{r}all ploym^{ts}; wherin if they shalbe wanting, and much more if refractory, Care must bee taken to punish the obstinate and disobedyent, being as necessary as food and raym^{t}. And wee hartely pray you, that all bee kept to labo^{r}, as the only meanes to reduce them to civill, yea a godly lyfe, and to keepe youth from falling into many enormities, wch by nature wee are all too much enclyned vnto. God, who alone is able and powerfull, enable you to this great worke, and graunt that o^{r} chiefest Ayme may

bee his hono^{r} and Glory. And thus wishing you all happy and prsperous success, wee end, & rest A.D. 1629.

Yo^{r} assured lo: freinds, the Gou^{r}no^{r}
& deputie of the New Engl: Company
for a plantacon in Mattachusetts Bay.

Through many businesses wee had almost forgotten to recomend vnto you 2 brethren of o^{r} Comp., Mr. John & Mr. Sam. Browne, who, though they bee noe Adventurers in the gen^{r}all Stock, yett are they men wee doe much respect, being fully prswaded of their sincere affeccons to the good of o^{r} Plantacon. The one, Mr. John Browne, is sworne an Assistant heere, & by vs chosen one of the Councell there; a Man experienced in the lawes of o^{r} Kingdome, & such an one as wee are prswaded will worthylie deserve yor fauo^{r} and furtherance, wch wee desire hee may haue, and that in the first devision of lands there may bee allotted to ether of them 200 Acres.

I finde Mr. Oldham's graunt from Mr. Gorge is to him & John Dorrell, for all the lands wthin Mattachusetts Bay betweene Charles River and Abousett River, Cont in lengt, by a streigth lyne, 5 Myles vp the said Charles River, into the maine land North West from the border of the sd Bay, including all Creekes and points by the Way, and 3 Myles in length from the mouth of the foresaid river of Abousett vp into the maine land, vpon a streight lyne S. W., including all Creeks and points, and all the land in bredth and length betweene the foresaid Rivers, wth all p^{r}rogatives, Ryall Mynes excepted. The rent reserved is 12^{d}. on every 100 Acres of land that shalbe vsed; Wm. Blaxton, Clerk, and Wm. Jeffryes, gent. authorised to put John Oldham in possession. Having a sight of his graunt, this I found; though I hold it voyde in lawe, yett, his clayme being to this, you may in yor discrecon prvent him by causing some to take possession of the cheife prt therof.

THE COMPANY'S SECOND GENERAL LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS TO ENDICOTT AND HIS COUNCIL.

LONDON, 28 May, 1629.

A.D. 1629. May 28. After o[r] harty Comendacons; o[r] last vnto you was of the 17th and 21th Aprill, sent by the last shipps, viz., the Geo. Bonaventure, Thomas Cox Mr., who sett saile from th' Isle of Wight the 4th of this Month, and seconded by the Talbott, Thomas Beecher, Master, & the Lyon's Whelpe, John Gibbs, Mr., who sett saile from th' isle of Wight about the 11th of this Month; wch lre being large and consisting of many prticulers, hath bin confirmed heere; and herewth you shall receive a Coppy therof, desiring you to take espetiall care of the prformance and putting in execucon of all things materiall therein menconed, and prticulerly, amongst others, that point concerninge publicacon to bee made that noe wrong or iniurie bee offred by any of o[r] People to the Natiues there. To wch purpose wee desire you, the Gou[r]no[r], to aduise wth the Councell in pening of an effectual edict, vpon pœnalty to bee inflicted vpon such as shall transgress the same; wch being done, o[r] desire is the same may bee published, to the end that all Men may take notice therof, as also that you send a Coppy therof vnto vs by the next returne of the Shipps.

Wee haue, sithence o[r] last, and according as wee then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, ellected & established you, Captaine John Endicott, to the place of prsent Gou[r]no[r] in o[r] Plantacon there, as also some others to bee of the Councell wth you, as more prticulerly you will prceive by an Act of Court herewth sent, confirmed by vs at a Gen[r]all Court, and Sealed wth o[r] Comon Seale; to wch Act wee referr you, desiring you all punctually to observe the same, and that the Oathes[1] wee herewth send you (wch haue bin heere

[1] See pp. 40, 41.

penned by learned Councell) to bee administred to each of you, A.D. 1629.
in yor seu^rall places, may bee administred in such mann^r & forme as in & by o^r said Order is prticulerly expressed; and that yo^rselues do frame such other Oathes, as in yor wisdomes you shall thinke fitt to bee administred to yor Secretary or other officers, according to their seu^rall places respectively.

Wee haue further taken into o^r Consideracon the fittness and convenyencie, or rather a necessitie, of making a devident of Land, and allotting a prporcon to each Adventurer, & otherwise; and to this Purpose haue made and confirmed an Act,[1] and sealed the same wth o^r Comon Seale, to the prticulers wherof wee referr you, desiring you wth all convenyent expedicon to put the same in execucon; and for yor better direccon in the Allottment, wee haue herewth sent you (as by o^r last we prmised) a list of all the seu^rall adventurers,[2] and of the some by each of them adventured, desiring that vpon the devydent each Adventurer may haue his allotm^t of Land; as also such others as are noe Adventurers, coming in prson at their owne Charge, and the servants of Aduenturers sent over to reside vpon the Plantacon, may haue such a prporcon of land allotted vnto & for them as by o^r said Order is appointed.

And wheras diuers of the Companie are desirous to haue the lands lye togeather, wee holding it fitt herein to giue them all accomodacon, as tending to the furtherance of the Plantacon, doe pray you to giue way thervnto for such as shall desire the same, whether it bee before a devident bee made according to o^r direccon, or at the tyme of the allotm^t to observe the same course.

You shall also receive herewth the Coppys of all the seu^rall agreem^ts made wth the servants and others sent over in the 3 last Shipps for accompt of the Companie, togeather wth their

[1] See p. 41.

[2] A list of the names of adventurers, in May, 1628, from Mr. Felt's Annals of Salem, quoted by Dr. Young in connection with this passage, should not be mistaken for the list here referred to, which unfortunately has not been preserved. There are many names mentioned in the Records, previous to the date of this letter, which are not in that list. Among others those of Goffe, the two Vassall's, Coulson, Davenport, Eaton, &c., early and prominent members of the company; and ten of the names in the list have not, thus far, been noticed in the Records.

A.D. 1629. seu^rall names, for yor better direccon in employing them in their seu^rall places according to those agreem^ts; as also the names of the servants of such prticuler Members of the Company as went over in the said Shipps; desiring you that a due Register bee taken and kept from tyme to tyme of all the prsons form^rly sent over, or that shall hereafter come to the Plantacon, both of the names, & qualitie, and age, of each prticuler prson, & for or by whom they are sent over.[1]

Wee send you also herewth a prticuler of all the Goods and Cattle sent in those forenamed Shipps, as also of what goods, Cattle, or other prvisions, wee now send vpon these 3 Shipps, viz., The Mayflower, of Yarmouth, Willm. Peirse Mr., The fower Sisters, of London, Roger Harman Mr., The Pilgrim, of London, Willm. Wollridge Mr.;[1] amongst wch wee haue remembred you, the Gou^rno^r there, wth certaine necessaries prmised by o^r last; and if in ought wee haue bin now wantinge, wee shall vpon notice from you see the same supplyed by o^r next.

Wheras in o^r last wee advised you to make Composicon wth such of the Saluages as did prtend any Tytle, or lay clayme to any of the land wthin the Teretoryes graunted to vs by his Ma^ts. Charter, wee pray you now bee carefull to discover & finde out all such p^rtendors, and by advice of the Councell there to make such reasonable composicon wth them as may free vs and yo^rselues from any scruple of intrusion; and to this purpose, if it might bee convenyently done, to compound & conclude wth them all, or as many as you can at one tyme, not doubting but by yor discreet Ordering of this business, the Natiues wilbe willing to treat & compound wth you vpon very easie Conditions.

Wee pray you, as soone as these Shipps are discharged, to cause a prticuler to bee taken, and sent vs at their returne for England, of the names of all such prsons as come vpon them to remaine in the Country; as also a note of the Cattle and all mann^r of Goods of what kinde soever landed out of them, wth the Seu^rall Marks, and names of the Owners therof. The like

[1] These papers are not known to be preserved.

wherof wee desire to receive from you of the formr 3 Shipps, viz., The George, Talbott, & Lyon's Whelpe; to the end wee may compare the same wth the Invoyces heere, and receive fraight, if any bee omitted. A.D. 1629.

The Charge wee are at in sending over servants for the Company is very great, the recompense wherof (vnder God) depends vpon their labor and endeavors; and therefore or desire is that you appoint a Carefull and dilligent overseer to each familie, who is to see each prson employed in the business hee or they are appointed for. And to the end both yorselues there and Wee heere may from tyme to tyme haue notice how they employ their tyme, wee haue sent you divers papr bookes, wch wee pray you to distribute to the said Overseers, who are to keepe a prfect Register of the dayly worke done by each prson in each familie; a Coppy wherof wee pray you send vnto vs once every halfe yeare, or as often as convenyently you may. But if you conceive that the said Register may bee too much to wryte prticulerly every day, wee desire that a Sumary may bee taken therof, at the least evry weeke, registred in the booke kept for that familie, and at each week's end the same to bee examined & subscribed by two, three, or fower such discreet prsons as you shall thinke fitt to appoint for that purpose.

And for the better gouerning and Ordering of or People, espetiallie such as shalbe negligent and remiss in prformance of their dutyes, or otherwise exorbitant, or desire is, that a house of Correccon bee erected and set vpp, both for the punishmt of such offendors, and to deterr others by their example from such irregular Courses.

Richard Claydon, a wheelwright, recomended vnto vs by Dr. Wells to bee both a good and painfull workman, and of an Orderly lyfe and conversacon, or desire is, that vpon all occasions hee may haue yor furtherance and good accomodacon, as you shall finde him by his endeavors to deserve; to whom, as to all others of fitness & Judgmt, lett some of or servants bee Comitted, to bee instructed by him or them in their seurall Arts, &c.

A.D. 1629. There is also one Richard Haward and Richard Inkersall, both bedfordshire men, hyred for the Company wth their famylies, who wee pray you may bee well accomodated, not doubting but they will well & Orderly demeane themselues.

O^r Gou^rno^r, Mr. Cradock, hath entertained 2 Gardno^rs, one of wch hee is content the Company shall haue vse of, if neede bee, and wee desire that Barnabie Claydon, a Wheelwright, may serve Mr. Sharpe for o^r said Gou^rno^r heere, or some other prson in lieu of him, that may giue him content.

Some things wee are desired by Mr. Whyte, the Minister, to recomend vnto yor care, viz. That you would shew all lawfull fauo^r and respect vnto the Planters that came over in the Lyon's Whelpe out of the Countyes of Dorsett and Som^r-sett; That you would appoint vnto William Dodg, a skilfull and painfull Husbandman, the Charge of a Teame of Horses; To appoint Hugh Tillie and William Eedes for servants to S^r. Richard Saltonstall; to giue approbacon and furtherance to Francis Webb in setting vpp his saw Mill; and to take notice that all other prsons sent over by Mr. Whyte are servants to the Company, whatsoever hee hath written to the contrary, this being now his owne desire.

The Charge of these 3 Shipps now sent, though every man that hath any private adventure in them is to pay for his prticuler, yett the hazard of prfitt and loss by the fraighting of them all, and Men's wages and victuall, wth victuall for the Passengers, is to be borne ⅓ by the Companye's gen^rall Stock, & ⅔ by the Gou^rno^r and his prtners their private Stock; soe is also the ffishing to bee returned by them, as the Salt sent in them is. Wherfore wee pray you, when yor Shipps are discharged, if any surplus shalbe in victualls that they can spare, as also of other prvisions that was prvided for the passingers accomodacon, lett the same bee equally devyded, ⅓ to the Gou^rno^r there for the Company, th' other halfe to Mr. Samuell Sharpe for the vse of Mr. Cradock, o^r Gou^rno^r, and his prtners. All prvisions for the fishing at Sea is here equallie borne in halfes; soe are all the prvisions for shipping of all the Cattle in these 3 shipps; and accordingly wee desire the deales & Cask may be devyded there.

The prvisions for building of Shipps, as Pitch, Tarr, Rozen, Okum, old ropes for Okum, Cordage, & Saylcoth, in all these Shipps, wth 9 fferkins and 5 halfe barrells of Nayles in the 4 Sisters, are ⅘ for the Company in genrall, and ⅕ for the Gournor, Mr. Cradock, and his prtners; as is also Charge of one Georg Farr, now sent over to the six Shipwrights formrly sent. Or desire is a Storehouse may be made aprt for the prvisions of the Shipwrights and their Tooles, wherof Robert Moulton to haue the cheife Charge, and an Inventory to bee sent vs of all the Tooles, the new by themselues and the old by themselues, that are sent over for the vse of the sd Shipwrights, or any of them, in these and the formr shipps; In like mannr of all prvisions any way concerning Shipping; to the end wee may heere examine & fynde that the Company may bee duly charged wth their ⅘ prts of the Charge, & noe more, and the Gournor likewise and his prtners wth ⅕ prt, and noe more; and or desire is, that these Men bee kept at worke togeather, adding to their helpe such of the Companye's servants as you shall fynde needfull, & prportionably ⅕ as many of Mr. Cradock's, wch course wee hold most equall; and that accordingly as any vessells bee built, first that both prtyes may bee accomodated for the prsent occasion; but soe soone as 3 Shallops shalbe finished, two of them to bee sett out for the Companie, by lott, or as you shall agree there to make an equall devision, and one for or Gournor & his prtners; wth whose Agent, Mr. Sharpe, if you shall thinke fitt to agree vpon equall tearmes, ether in thirds or halfes, to fish togeather, when you shall haue vessells fitting, or for setting any other designe forward that may conduce to the good of all prtyes, the charge to bee borne indifferently by each party prportionably, wee leave to yor care and good discrecons, desiring and hartely praying, that loue and vnitie may bee continued wthout any hartburninge. And as or Gournor hath engaged himselfe beyond all expectacon in this business, not only in his prticuler, but by great somes disbursed for the genrall, to supply the wants therof, soe or desire is, that you endeavor to giue all furtherance & freindly accomodacon to his Agents & Servants

A.D. 1629.

A.D. 1629. there, not doubting butt you shall fynde them likewise ready to accomodate the Company in what they may, the Comp. standing in neede of yr helpe.

The Cattle now and formrly sent haue bin all prvyded by the Gournor, excepting 3 Mares that came out of Lecestershire; but aswell those as all the rest are agreed vpon to bee shipt, the one halfe at the Charge and vpon the adventure of the genrall Company, the other ⅓ for the Gournor and his prtners. And because all occasions shalbe avoyded of iust excepcons in their devision, It is agreed the devision shalbe made after the arrival there; that soe whatsoever it shall please God to send thither in safety, a devision may bee then made therof by Lott, or in such equall mannr as you, the Gournor there, and Mr. Sharpe, shall hold to be indifferent; and in case Mr. Samuell Sharpe should be sick or absent, the Gournors desire is, that Henry Haughton supply his place herein, & in other his occasions there.

And as in or formr, soe now againe wee espetially desire you to take care that noe Tobacco bee planted by any of the New Planters vnder yor Gournmt, vnless it bee some small quantitie for meere necessitie, and for Phisick, for prservacon of their healths; and that the same bee taken privately by auntient Men and none other; and to make a genrall restraint therof, as much as in you is, by prswading the old Planters to employ themselues in other business, according to or example, and not to prmitt that any Tobacco bee laden there vpon or Shipps.

Since th' aboue written, wee haue, vpon further consideracon, resolued that the charge of the six fishermen sent over in the Lyon's Whelpe, and 3 more now sent by or Gournor, should bee borne, ⅔ by the Genrall Company, and ⅓ by Mr. Cradock & prtners; the like for Salt & other necessaryes for ffishing. In consideracon wherof, and for that they will haue a like Interest in the Shallops, or desire is, that the benefitt of their laborrs, both in ffishinge & otherwise, (the Trade of Beavor excepted, in wch, if you vse any of these fishermen as Seamen, you must recompence their Laborrs by other men to supply their place,) bee equally devyded, ⅔ for th' use of the

Gen^rall Company, and $\frac{1}{3}$ for o^r Gou^rno^r, Mr. Cradock, & prt- A.D. 1629.
ners, prportionably; and for such others as are to bee assisting to these men in the ffishing, you are to appoint $\frac{2}{3}$ of them to bee of the gen^rall Companye's servants, & $\frac{1}{3}$ of the servants of Mr. Cradock and his prtners accordingly.

The Charge of the fraight of these 3 Shipps, their Men, victualls, &c., will stand vs in about 2400 ^lb., and their fraight outward will nothing neere countervaile that Charge. Wherfore wee pray you to ease it what you may by sending vs returnes in ffish or other Lading; and wee desire you to giue them all expedicon, for otherwise their monthly pay, being about 400 ^lb. pr month for these 3 Shipps, will soone swallow vp the gaines wee shall make of any thinge they may bring home from thence.

Wee haue now sent by these 3 Shipps 29 waigh of Salt, viz., 11 weigh in the May flower, 15 in the fower Sisters, and 3 waigh in the Pilgrim, togeather wth lynes, hookes, knives, bootes, & Barrells, necessary for ffishinge; desiring o^r Men may bee employed, ether in Harbor or vpon the Banke, to make vse therof for lading o^r Shipps; wherin wee desire you to conferr and aduise wth Mr. Peirce, who hath form^rly fished there. And if you send the Shipps to fish at the Banck, & expect them not to returne againe to the Plantacon, that then you send o^r Barke, that is already built in the Country, to bring back o^r ffishermen, and such prvisions as they had for fishing, viz., of Salt, if any remainder bee, as also of Hookes, Lynes, knives, bootes, and Barrells, wch to them wilbe of noe vse, their fishing being ended, but may bee of vse to you vpon all occasions.

And as wee haue hereby desired that a Storehouse bee built for the Shipwrights & their prvisions, & an inventory kept therof, soe wee desire likewise that the same course bee observed for the ffishermen, and an inventory bee duly kept of all the prvisions & implem^ts for fishinge, and a Coppy therof to bee sent vnto vs; and that such a carefull person bee appointed to take care & charge therof, to prserve the same from loss & spoyle, as you in yor discrecons shall thinke fitt; wch wee

A.D. 1629. pray you take into yor espetiall care & consideracon; And soe to order this & other business, by distributing the care therof to seu^{r}all prsons, that the burthen bee not too heavy to any prticuler, and soe the business itselfe suffer. And this care wee desire may bee taken, for that wee know not how soone wee may resolue of some other devision.

Thomas Beard, a Shoomaker, and Isack Rickman, being both recomended to vs by Mr. Symon Whetcombe, to receive their dyett & house roome at the Charge of the Companie, wee haue agreed they shalbe wth you the Gou^{r}no^{r}, or placed elsewhere as you shall thinke good, and receive from you or by yor appointm^{t} their dyett & lodging; for wch they are to pay, each of them, after the rate of 10 ^{lb}. pr ann. And wee desire to receive a Certificate vnder the hand of whomsoever they shalbe soe dyetted & lodged wth, how long tyme they haue remained wth them, in case they shall otherwise dispose of themselues before the yeare bee expired, or at least wise at the end of each yeare, to the end wee may heere receive paym^{t} according to the sd agreem^{t}. The said Tho. Beard hath in the Shipp the May flower divers Hydes, both for Soles and vppr leathers, wch hee intends to make vpp in bootes and shooes there in the Country. Wee pray you let Mr. Peirce, the Mr. of the said Shipp, viewe the said leather, & estimate what tonnage the same may import; That soe the said Beard may ether pay vnto you there after the rate of 4 ^{lb}. pr Tonn for fraight of the same — the like for his dyett, if there bee occasion to vse any of his Comodities — or otherwise vpon yor advice wee may receive it of Mr. Whetcombe, who hath prmised to see the same discharged. Wee desire also the said Tho. Beard may haue 50 Acres of land allotted to him as one that transports himselfe at his owne charge. But as well for him as all others that shall haue land allotted to them in that kinde, and are noe Adventurers in the Comon Stock, wch is to support the Charge of ffortyficacons, as also for the Ministrie, & divers other affaires, wee hold it fitt that these kinde of Men, as also such as shall come to inheritt lands by their service, should, by way of acknowledgm^{t} to such from whom they

receive these Lands, become lyable to the prformance of some service certaine dayes in the yeare, and by that service they and their posteritie after them to hold and inherite these lands; wch wilbe a good meanes to enioy their lands from being held in Capite, and to support the Plantacon in gen^rall and prticuler. A.D. 1629.

Wee may not omitt, out of o^r zeale for the gen^rall good, once more to putt you in mynde to bee very circumspect in the infancie of the plantacon to settle some good Orders wherby all prsons resident vpon o^r Plantacon may apply themselues to one calling or other, and noe idle Drone bee prmitted to liue amongst vs; wch, if you take care now at the first to establish, wilbe an vndoubted meanes through God's Assistance to prvent a world of disorders and many greuious Sinns & sin[ners.]

The Course we haue prscribed for keeping a dayly register in each familie of what is done by all and every prson in the famylie, wilbe a great helpe & remembrance to you, and to future posteritie, for the vpholding and continuance of this good Act, if once well begun and setled; wch wee hartely wish & desire as aforesaid.

And as wee desire all should liue in some honest Calling and prfession, soe wee pray you to be vnpartiall in the Administracon of Justice, and endeavo^r that noe man whatsoever, freeman or servant to any, may haue iust cause of Complaint herein. And for that it cannot bee avoyded but offences wilbe given, wee hartely pray you to admitt of all Complaints that shalbe made to you, or any of you that are of the Councell, bee the Comp^lt never soe meane, and pass it not sleightly over, but seriously examine the truth of the business; and if you fynde there was iust cause for the Complaint, endeavo^r to right the oppressed in the best mann^r you can. But howsoever, take some strict course to pruent the like, and such as are by vs put in authoritie as subordinate Gou^no^rs of ffamylies, if they shall abuse any vnder their gou^rnm^t, and after a gentle admonicon doe not reforme it, fail not speedylie to remove them, as men more fitt to bee gou^rned then to gou^rne others,

A.D. 1629. and place more fitt and sufficient Men in their stead. But if you fynde any compl^t to be made without iust cause giuen, let not such a fault escape wthout severe punishm^t, and that forthwth, and in publique, wherby to teryfie all others from daring to complaine against any that shalbe sett over them wthout a iust cause. Wee pray you to take this earnestly to hart, and neglect not the due execucon therof vpon plaintiff or defendant, according to the nature of the offence. It wilbe a meanes, through God's mercy, of prventing many inconvenyencies and disorders, that otherwise will vndoubtedly befall you and the whole gou^rnm^t there.

And amongst other Sinns wee pray you make some good Lawes for the punishing of Swearers, whervnto it is to bee feared too many are adicted that are servants sent over form^rly and now. These and other abuses wee pray you who are in authoritie to endeavor seriously to reforme, if ever you expect comfort, or a blessing from God vpon o^r Plantacon.

We haue discharged divers servants heere that wee had entertained, and bin at great charges wth some of them, yett fearing their ill lyfe might bee priudiciall to the Plantacon, wee rather thought fitt to dismiss them and loose o^r Charges then to burthen the Plantacon wth them. Amongst others in like mann^r dismissed by the Gou^rnor, 2 of the 3 ffishermen of his form^rly menconed are gone. Wee doubt not but God will in due tyme prvyde vs sufficiently wth honest and able servants, and wee hope these sent wilbe conformable to good Gou^rnm^t, wch if they doe willingly and cheerefully, wilbe the greater Comfort to you and vs; if otherwise we doubt not but you in yor good discrecons will know how to prceede wth such. Wherin, and in all things els you goe about, wee beseech the Almighty soe to direct you, as that God alone may haue the glory, and you and wee Comfort heere temprally, and hereafter prpetually.

Wee pray you to take notice, that in these and the form^r shipps ther is shipped in Cattle, and other prvisions, according to prticuler Invoyces heere inclosed; but whether all things bee incerted in the same Invoyces wee make doubt, and ther-

fore pray you to bee carefull, a due Register bee kept of all putt ashore. A.D. 1629.

Wee pray you endeavor, though there bee much strong waters sent for Sale, yett soe to Order it as that the Saluages may not for o^r^ lucre sake bee induced to the excessive vse or rather abuse of it; and at any hand take care o^r^ people give noe ill example; and if any shall exceede in that inordinate kinde of drinking as to become drunck, wee hope you will take care his punishm^t^ bee made exemplary for all others. Lett the lawes bee first published to forbidd these disorders, and all others you feare may growe vp, wherby they may not prtend ignorance of the one, nor pruiledg to offend; and then feare not to putt good lawes, made vpon good ground and warrant, in due execucon. And soe recomending you and all yor affaires to the prteccon of the almighty, wee conclude, and rest,

Yo^r^, &c.

GRAUESEND, 3 June, 1629.

To the Worp^ll^: or very loving freinds, Capt. Jo. Endecott, Esqr., Gou^r^no^r^, ffr. Higgenson, Samuell Skelton, ffr. Bright, Jo. & Sam. Browne, Sam. Sharpe, Tho. Graues, & the rest of the Councell for London's Plantacon in the Mattachusetts Bay, in New England.

JOHN HULL. FAC SIMILE OF HIS MS.

The state of England our dear Native
Countrey being by the usurpation of the
Bishops under great declinings both civill
& chiffly Eclesiasticall, gods faithfull
ministers silenced, sentenced & also to Imprison
mt. & banishment iff they would not Conform
to read the kings & Bishops edicts granting
liberty for profanation of the Lords day &c
& also Imposing upon the ministry many popish
Injunctions wch proved A snare unto some
Honest minds & a burden unsuportable to many
others both ministers & people whose hearts
God stirred up rather to endure a voluntary
Exile from their native soyl & to hazard the
Loss of all their sweet outward Comforts &
relations ~~[illegible]~~ then to defile their Con
scientes & ensnare themselves by holding
their rich revenewes.

Jogn. Hull. minister

John Hull Treasurer

Shilling; Six pence; Three pence; and Two pence struck by him

See Note H.

THE

DIARIES OF JOHN HULL,

Mint-master and Treasurer

OF THE

COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

With a Memoir of the Author.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,
22, School Street.
1857.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

The small pocket-volume from which the Diaries of Hull are printed was presented to the Antiquarian Society by one of its members, — Rev. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, N.Y. That gentleman has been so widely distinguished for his interest in the collection of manuscripts as to be made the recipient of many varieties of documents, whose possessors have wisely deemed them to be safer, and more likely to be useful, in his hands than in their own. He has thus undoubtedly been instrumental in preserving from destruction numerous valuable materials of history. It is not known through what channels this little Note-Book has been transmitted to the present generation. It came to Dr. Sprague many years since, with other manuscripts, from Boston, without any definite indications of its previous history.

The papers of Hull appear to have been a good deal scattered after his death, although perhaps kept

together by his immediate posterity. Prince, in the preface to his Annals, mentions using, among his materials, "interleaved almanacs of the late Hon. John Hull and Judge Sewall, &c., . . . wherein the facts were wrote at the time they happened; though the notes in several, being wrote in divers sorts of *short-hand*, to which I was an utter stranger, put me to no small pains to find out their *alphabets* and other *characters*." Many of Judge Sewall's almanacs are extant; and the memoranda in them have been printed in the Genealogical Register. One of Hull's, without notes however, bound with several of Judge Sewall's, is in the possession of Dr. Gould, of Boston. His interleaved almanacs may still exist in the obscurity of private possession, from which it is hoped they may at some time be rescued. The present inheritor of the Diary of Judge Sewall, we are happy to learn, has declared his intention to print that often-quoted document.

Within a year or two, one of Hull's Letter-Books, in which he kept copies of his business correspondence, was presented to one of the officers of this Society,— SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq.,—on the credit of his personal reputation as an antiquary, and simply because of the ancient character of the book. The volume was much worn and mutilated, but was found to contain matter of historical interest, sometimes relating to important public affairs, or transactions rather official than personal. It is to be presumed that

other volumes were filled with similar records in the course of a life spent in numerous posts of public service as well as in commercial pursuits of a varied and extensive nature; and it might be worth the while of some descendant of the united families of Hull and Sewall to institute a search for them. The New-England Historical and Genealogical Society has in its library a folio volume of Hull's accounts with the Colony as Treasurer, containing his statement of moneys paid to soldiers that served in Philip's War. Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington, has in his possession a folio Ledger or Account-Book of Judge Sewall's, in the beginning of which are entries corresponding with those at the commencement of Hull's Private Diary. It is very desirable that such fragments of contemporary history should be collected and combined for preservation.

At the solicitation of the Antiquarian Society, Mr. Jennison, whose familiarity with its literary treasures is not less distinguished than the disinterested care with which he has for many years managed the finances of the Institution, was prevailed on to prepare the Memoir of Hull, which here precedes the Diaries, and also to supply such requisite annotations as his convenience and limited leisure would permit him to provide. To his liberal devotion of time and attention to this service we are indebted for a transcript of the Diaries and extracts from the Letter-Book, with illustrative notes and references; and, in this

state of forwardness, the manuscript was transferred to the Committee of Publication for such further preparation as might be necessary before delivering it to the printer.

That troublesome *short-hand*, of which Prince so expressively complains in his reference to the almanacs, was found to be distributed through the pages of the Diaries, and had thus far baffled all attempts to decipher it. Other contractions of an irregular and arbitrary nature also interfered with the presentation of a full and literal copy of the text.

Under these circumstances, one of the Committee — Rev. E. E. HALE — accepted the task of analyzing the characters employed by the writer, for the purpose of ascertaining to what stenographic system they belonged, and thus obtaining a key to their signification. In this effort he was successful; although the discovery of the principle of interpretation, and its application to signs often varied or modified by the caprice or unskilfulness of the hand that used them, involved a degree of patient scrutiny and detective expertness which can be appreciated only by those who have undertaken a similar experiment.

Having thus been brought into such intimate connection with the text of the Diaries, Mr. Hale has also enriched the publication with illustrative and accessory matter of his own contribution. Those who have occasion to decipher the early manuscripts of New England, often obscured by sentences and

longer passages written in secret characters, will thank him for his elucidation of the stenographic systems in use at former periods. The information he has collected respecting the *coinage* of Massachusetts, much of it entirely new, and appropriately connected with the first and only master of the mint, will be found to possess a high historic interest. Besides many briefer notes, the entire Appendix is the fruit of his private learning and research.

The Diaries are not inaptly associated with the narrative of the organization and early proceedings of the Massachusetts Company, to which, in some respects, they bear the relation of a sequel, commencing as they do soon after the establishment of the Colony, and portraying, to a certain extent, the condition and incidents of primitive colonial life. To the true antiquary no apology is necessary for retaining the most trivial entries. Those which are apparently of little significance may yet be suggestive of circumstances that have an historical value. If history is "a mirror of the past," fragments, however minute, of the same material should also each reflect its particular image, and perhaps exhibit some fact, or some trait of habits or manners, whose obscure light would otherwise fail to be transmitted.

The Private Diary occupies one end of the little Note-Book, and the Public Diary the other. Thus the two narratives, in reversed position, advance towards a meeting in the centre of the volume, — a

mode of charging a double duty upon a single memorandum-book which is characteristic of the period. It is not easy to determine precisely when these notes were actually commenced: the dates of the entries do not necessarily indicate the time when they were recorded. The ink and handwriting of the Private Diary appear nearly or quite uniform until the record of Hull's election to the office of ensign of the Artillery Company in 1654 (see p. 146), excepting that, in a space at first left vacant, there were subsequently inserted items of various dates relating to births, deaths, and marriages in the family. In some instances, these re-appear at their proper periods, but not always. There is no second entry of the marriage of his daughter Hannah to Samuel Sewall; a wedding, the history of which has become legendary.

In the Public Diary, the long historical introduction is in the same hand and ink with the note of the execution of King Charles, separated from it by memoranda of various dates, pens, ink, and handwriting. It is quite possible that the commencement of the Diary of public occurrences was suggested by that event, as it certainly began about the year 1649. The Private Diary was probably an after-thought, having been commenced about 1654. The note-taking passion of our fathers was the same in this country as at home. Sir Walter Scott's description of the parish church at Woodstock, in October,

1652, represents the notables of the town as carrying their Bibles and memorandum-books at their girdles, instead of dagger and sword.* These pocket-volumes, containing notes of sermons, are very numerous. One of Hull's, similar in form and size to that containing his Diaries, is alluded to in Whitman's History of the Artillery Company.

Though in minute chirography, the manuscript of the Diaries is well preserved, and everywhere legible, except in a few passages of the short-hand. On the leaf, at first left blank, preceding the Private Diary, there was subsequently added this memorandum: "Dan. Quinsy, born Sept. 12, '50." Of the relationship of Daniel Quincy to Hull, some notes will be found in Appendix A.

Then follows the name of "John Hull," as author of the book. On the next page are sundry aphorisms, in various colors of ink and in different forms of his handwriting; such, doubtless, as he desired to make the guides of his own life and conduct: —

The good Lord watch over me, and give me a watchful spirit! John Hull.

Keep always low thoughts of thyself. Be reverent to superiors, affable and loving unto equals, courteous and helpful unto all.

* Scott's authority here is the following stage-direction in "the Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street," an anonymous comedy of the seventeenth century: "Enter *Nicholas St. Antlings*, *Simon St. Mary-Overies*, and *Frailty*, in black scurvy mourning-coats, with books at their girdles, as coming from church."

This play, however, was acted as early as 1607.

Flee covetousness, flattery; neither company with such.

If thou speak in the presence of thy betters, let it be but few words, and in season. Be not forward to speak in any society. Undertake nothing rashly. Keep within the bounds of your calling and of your abilities and estate, &c., in any enterprise.

Keep out of debt.

If thou be at any time moved to anger by any person, pause a while before thou speak.

Mind well the good thou seest in any, specially in persons eminent, so as to walk in their steps; but, where they erred, be thou thereby warned.

Let the written word be thy rule; unto which bring all thy actions and speeches. Let thy aim and hope in all, and always, be to get forward (not thy own, but) the Lord's work.

Be frequent in doing good offices, and yielding relief to saints in need, and with as little noise as may be.

Keep thyself innocent; but be willing to be accounted nocent, so that Christ's cause may gain either in honor to himself, or men increase in love and peace.

2 Sam. 16; 10. Mica 7; 9, 10.

The Lord will provide for the name and honor of those that are willing to bury their own name and honor for his sake.

In printing this manuscript, we have deviated from the rule adopted in printing the Records of the State, where the spelling of the original was carefully followed. The rule here has been to use the modern spelling, and such punctuation as the text demands. A public record, by a public officer appointed for the purpose, becomes, in every detail, an historical document; and it may be desirable, there-

fore, to preserve its spelling, even in its accidental mis-spellings; for such a document is a standard index of the literary condition of the general community to which it belongs, as manifested by the acquirements of the man appointed to be its recording officer. It is conceived, however, that no such index is afforded by a private manuscript not intended to meet the public eye, where the irregularities of orthography may only be the result of carelessness or haste. It has, therefore, been regarded as inexpedient to harass the eye of a reader who is seeking antiquarian or historical information by retaining the exact spelling of the text of Hull's Diaries. In the single case of proper names, it has been deemed a duty to follow his orthography, for these, especially the names of people, often differed in this respect at that time from the same names at the present day; and it is a matter of interest to determine, by any contemporary document, what was the former usage in regard to them. The rule has been to follow the writer's spelling in the case of proper names, but to modernize the residue of the text in that particular; and to make such punctuation as the sense seemed to require, rather than to retain always the precise punctuation of the manuscript. In one or two documents in the Appendix, the rule has, for special reasons, been deviated from. It is hardly necessary to state, that grammar and syntax, and all essential peculiarities of the writer, have

been left without alteration. A note on p. 143 explains the occasional use of the Italic character.

The reader will observe, that, in the history of the time, our author is generally spoken of as Capt. Hull; and it may excite some surprise, that, at the close of his life, he ranked only as lieutenant in the militia. It should be explained perhaps, therefore, that his rank as captain was his rank in that venerable military corps known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, which, from the earliest period, has existed as a separate organization, quite independent of the regular militia of the State; although its members and officers, like other citizens, serve and take office in the militia.*

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston was modelled after the Honorable Com-

* The arrangement of the militia of the State, about the period when Capt. Hull's Diaries begin, is thus quaintly described in the second tract, called "Good News from New England," printed, in 1648, by Matthew Simmons, London:—

"Prest to oppose haters of peace, with guide
Of officers, three regiments abide.
In Middlesex, seven ensigns are displaid,
There disciplin'd by Major Sedgwick's aide;
In Suffolk, nine, by Major Gibbons led;
Essex and Norfolk in one are marshalled
By Denison, their major, in the field;
Their generall a yearly choice doth yeild.
Eight times a year each band instructed is;
And once to meet in one they may not misse.
Both horse and foot, force, forts, and castles, are
Prepared in peace for peace, yet fit for war."

It is truly remarkable that this especially valuable tract has so completely escaped the attention of our historians. The Massachusetts Historical Society, justly impressed with its importance, had a copy made from that in the British Museum, and reprinted it in their volume for 1852. A copy of the original, with manuscript notes by Prince, has long been in the library of the Antiquarian Society. But Prince does not mention it in his printed list of authorities, and at that date had probably not seen it.

pany of London, "exercising arms in the Artillery Garden;" whence its name of Artillery Company. In 1631, Capt. Henry Waller, one of the Massachusetts company, was the commander,* and some of the early colonists had been members. It is mentioned by Jesse, in his account of London, that the place where the trainbands of the city were exercised was close by Artillery Walk, Bunhill Fields, containing the house where Milton completed his "Paradise Lost," and in which he died. "There, too," says his nephew and biographer, Philips, "he used, in fine summer weather, to sit at the door of his house to enjoy the fresh air, and to receive the visits of persons of rank and genius who came to pay their homage and enjoy his conversation."

The establishment at Boston of so peculiar a military organization, under so peculiar a title, is one among many evidences of the prominent relation borne by some of the founders of Massachusetts to the various municipal institutions of London; a relation which became more manifest in the course of the succeeding Revolution.

For the Committee of Publication,

S. F. HAVEN.

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* Funeral Sermon by Rev. George Hughes, in A. A. S. Library.

MEMOIR AND DIARIES OF JOHN HULL.

1624 - 1683

MEMOIR.

Mr. John Hull, as we learn from his diary, was born at Market Hareborough, in Leicestershire, Dec. 18, 1624, where he was brought up at school until, in his eleventh year, he accompanied his father, Robert Hull, to New England. After a variety of perils encountered on the voyage, they arrived at Boston on the 7th of November, 1635. "After a little keeping at school,"[1] as he expresses it, "I was taken to help my father plant corn, which I attended for several years together; and then, by God's good hand, I fell to learning (by the help of my brother), and to practise the trade of a goldsmith."

When in his twenty-third year, he married Judith, daughter of Edmund Quincy, who came over in 1633, and was the founder of the distinguished family of that name in Massachusetts. The ceremony was per-

[1] John Hull is, therefore, the earliest scholar who can now be named of Philemon Pormort, whose school, the only one in Boston, was established April 23d of the same year, — the first school of public instruction in Massachusetts.

formed by Governor Winthrop, "on the 11th of the 3d month," 1647. Mrs. Hull was born in England, Sept. 3, 1626. She survived her husband, and died in 1695.

In 1648, he became a member of Mr. Cotton's church. He was a Puritan, zealous for the preservation of uniformity, watchful against all innovations, and approving, no doubt from a conviction of their propriety, the severe measures adopted by the government in its treatment of the Anabaptists and Quakers.

In the same year, he was "chosen and accepted as corporal, under the command of the honored Major Gibbons," and in 1652 became a sergeant. The importance attached to this office, and his sense of the responsibility which it involved, may be inferred from an entry in his diary, in which he beseeches that "the good Lord would please to make me able and fit for, and faithful in, the place I am called unto; that I may, as with a spirit of wisdom and humility, love and faithfulness, obey my superiors; so also be exemplary and helpful to my inferiors, and by him be kept from temptation and corruption."

It was in 1652, as he states in his diary, that, "upon occasion of much counterfeit coin brought into the country, and much loss accruing in that respect (and that did occasion a stoppage of trade), the General Court ordered a mint to be set up, and to coin it, bringing it to the sterling standard for fineness; and,

for weight, every shilling to be three pennyweight." "And they made choice of me for that employment; and I chose my friend, Robert Sanderson, to be my partner, to which the Court consented." On this subject we find, in the Court's order for establishing the mint, that it "being of so great concernment, that it may not in any particular thereof fall to the ground," Richard Bellingham and four others were constituted a committee to appoint the mint-house in some convenient place in Boston, and to give John Hull the oath suitable to his place.[1] The "mint-house" was located on Mr. Hull's estate, the land to be conveyed to the government, at a fair valuation, when his office of mint-master expired (Drake's Hist. Boston). The design was promptly put in execution. The date attached to the coins is 1652, and was never changed, although the coinage was continued for several years. The first order of the Court was, that the coins should be, "for form, flat and square on the sides, and stamped on the one side with NE, and on the other side with XII*d.*, VI*d.*, and III*d.*" It was afterwards ordered,[2] that, to prevent "clipping or washing," they should have "a double ring on either side, with this inscription: Massachusetts, and a tree in the centre, on the one side; and New England, and the date of the year, on the other side." They were also to have "a private mark, known only to the Governor, and

[1] May 26, 1652. [2] Oct. 19, 1652.

the sworn officers of the mint." In 1663, the Court ordered a coinage of twopenny pieces. All persons had liberty to bring in bullion, plate, and Spanish pieces, and have them converted into Massachusetts coins; but, in 1654,[1] it was enacted, that to "send, carry, or transport, out of this jurisdiction, any of the money" so coined, exceeding twenty shillings for necessary expenses, should subject the offender to the confiscation of all his visible estate.

It is because the tradition has been sanctioned in a public lecture by Mr. Sparks, that the anecdote is here introduced of the indignation expressed by King Charles at the presumption of the colony in usurping his prerogative in coining money; and that, on being informed that the figure upon the coins which represents a tree was the *royal oak* which was the means of preserving his majesty's life, this evidence of loyalty quite allayed his resentment: while the government of the colony expressed its confidence, that, when his majesty should be truly informed of the usefulness of the mint, "and the simplicity of our acting, he would not account those to be friends to his crown that shall seek to interrupt us therein; and, for the impress put upon the coins, we shall take it as his majesty's signal owning us, if he will please to order such an impress as shall be to him most acceptable." It was allowed to Mr. Hull to take one shilling out of every

[1] Aug. 20.

twenty shillings which he coined.[1] Hutchinson says the money did not obtain currency anywhere, otherwise than as bullion, except in the New-England colonies; and that the mint-master raised a large fortune by it.

In 1654, Mr. Hull was chosen ensign of the South Military Company, and, in 1656, "by the sergeant-major and military officers to keep the records of their proceedings." In 1657, he was chosen one of the seven Selectmen of Boston, in which capacity he served several years. In 1658, he was chosen "by the Selectmen to receive, keep, and dispose of, the town's stock or treasure." In 1660, he was admitted a member of the Artillery Company, afterwards known as the Ancient and Honorable. Of this company he was ensign in 1663, under Gen. Leverett, and, in 1664, lieutenant. In 1671, he became its captain, and continued in office until 1678.

In 1668, he was chosen by the town of Wenham to be their deputy in the General Court; which office, by the persuasion "of Mr. Newman, Mr. Cobbett, and sundry other friends," he was induced to accept. In 1671, 1673, and 1674, he was also a deputy for the town of Westfield, in 1676 for Concord, and in 1679–80 for Salisbury.

In 1669, he was one of the founders of the Old

[1] This allowance was afterwards changed. Some information relating to it, and the efforts which the Court made to change it, will be found in a note to the passage in Hull's private diary which alludes to the establishment of the mint.

South, which was the third Boston church. In 1675, he was appointed by the Council "one of the Committee, and also Treasurer, for the war;" and in 1676, by the General Court, to be the Country Treasurer. In 1680, on being chosen an Assistant, he "was released from his former serving as Treasurer," and was succeeded by James Russell. Judge Sewall says he was indisposed most of the summer of 1683, came home from the Court Sept. 6, and never went into town after. He died Oct. 1, 1683. His funeral sermon was preached by Vice-President Willard, and was published.[1] In this, his character is thus delineated: —

"They are little things to be put into the account, and weigh but light in the commendations we have to give him, to say this government hath lost a magistrate; this town hath lost a good benefactor; this church hath lost an honorable member; his company hath lost a worthy captain; his family hath lost a loving and kind husband, father, master; the poor have lost a liberal and merciful friend; that nature had furnished him with a sweet and affable disposition and even temper; that Providence had given him a prosperous and flourishing portion of this world's goods; that the love

[1] "The high esteem which God hath of the Death of his Saints, as it was delivered in a sermon preached October 7, 1683, occasioned by the death of the Worshipful John Hull, Esq., who deceased October 1, 1683. By Samuel Willard, Teacher to a church in Boston.

"Numbers 23, 10: 'Let me die the death of the Righteous, and let my last end be like his.'

"'De Imperatore Theodosio fertur magis se gaudere quod membrum ecclesiæ Dei esset, quam caput imperii.' — *Aug.*

"Boston, in New England: printed by Samuel Green for Samuel Sewall, 1683."

and respect of the people had lifted him up to places of honor and preferment. This, this, outshines them all, that he was a saint upon earth; that he lived like a saint here, and died the precious death of a saint, and now has gone to rest with the saints in glory. This has raised those relics of his above common dust, and made them precious dust. When conscience of duty stimulated me to perform my part of his exequies, and put me upon it to do him honor at his death, methoughts justice required, and envy itself would not nibble at, this character; and, if the tree be to be known by its fruits, his works shall praise him in the gates," &c.

Annexed to the sermon is a poetical eulogium on Mr. Hull, subscribed by Elijah Corlet.

Mr. Hull was not only a constant attendant on public worship, but took notes of the sermons and lectures which he heard. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington, mentions "several manuscript volumes, in 12mo, containing above two hundred sketches of sermons and Thursday lectures, delivered at the First Church, Boston, between 1655 and 1661, written by him, partly in short-hand and partly at full length," as in his possession in 1840 (Am. Quarterly Register).

Although we find recorded the birth of several of his children, but one appears to have survived him. This was his daughter Hannah, born Feb. 14, 1657–8, who, Feb. 28, 1675–6, became the wife of the first Chief Justice Sewall. He, having been a printer and a supervisor of the press in Boston, was now admitted to share in the extensive and lucrative commercial business in which his father-in-law was engaged.

Writing to Daniel Allin, one of his correspondents in London, Dec. 27, 1680, Mr. Hull says: —

"I received your glasses and hats, and have obtained my son-in-law, Samuel Sewall, to take your consignment of them. He hath sold your hats and some glasses; and as he can sell the rest, and receive in, so he will render you an account, and make you a return; and I hope with prudence and faithfulness, for he is both prudent and faithful."

Other letters furnish evidence of the confidence reposed in Sewall, and of the assistance which he rendered to Mr. Hull in his affairs.

In his business of goldsmith, Hull says he was able to get his "living." This was before his appointment to coin the money of the colony, which, there is reason to believe, was very profitable. As early as 1661, in writing to his father, he says: "It hath often been of use to me to hear you say you had not come into this wilderness but for your poor children's sake; and I have found, through grace, the good benefit of that Christian parental forecast." Mather relates of him, that he was dutiful and tender towards his mother; which Mr. Wilson, the minister, observing, pronounced that God would bless him, and though then poor, yet he should arrive at a great estate. Whatever were the influences which operated to produce it, it is certain that he did arrive at such an estate. He was engaged in various and very extensive business operations. He was one of the princi-

pal merchants on the continent, if not the greatest of his time. His vessels — the "Dove," commanded by Capt. Thomas Downes; and the "Sea Flower," by Capt. John Harris" — were constantly engaged in voyages to and from the West Indies, England, and France; while, from year to year, he was interested in numerous "ventures" in beaver and various other commodities in other ships. His orders to his captains were to "see to it that the Lord be worshipped daily, and his sabbath sanctified; all sin and profaneness suppressed, that the Lord's presence may be with you, and his blessing upon you." He had several business correspondents in England, as well as in the fur trade at home. He was concerned in the lumber trade in Maine, where Roger Plaisted and the Broughtons were his agents. He owned a large estate and extensive timber-lands near Salmon Falls, and laid out and improved a farm at Penicook, which was afterwards owned by Judge Sewall.

In 1657, he was associated with John Porter and four others, in the purchase, from the sachems of Narragansett, of a large tract of land, bounded by Ninigret's territory, and embracing Point Judith Neck. It was called the Petaquampscot Purchase. Subsequently, the company bought additional tracts of large extent; after which, they admitted, as partners, William Brenton and Benedict Arnold, both, at different times, governors of Rhode Island. Three hundred acres, set apart for the improvement

of a minister, were afterwards the subject of a protracted litigation between the Presbyterian Torrey and the Episcopal McSparran. A portion was also conveyed by Judge Sewall to Harvard College, the income of which was to be applied to the support and education of youths whose parents might not be of sufficient ability to maintain them, "especially such as shall be sent from Petaquampscot, as well English as Indians." Another portion was given by him for the support of a school-teacher to instruct the youth of the town of Petaquampscot, "as well English as Indians," to read and write the English language, and the rules of grammar. This school was for a long time established at Tower Hill, and, as late as 1823, was removed to Kingston, when the land was sold by order of the Legislature, and the proceeds appropriated for its support. (See Potter's Hist. Narragansett.)

We find, in Mr. Hull's letter-book, repeated references to the Narragansett estate in his correspondence with Governor Arnold, to whom, respecting one of its products, he writes, Dec. 2, 1674: —

"I hope I shall get time, with the Lord's leave, to go up this next summer, and then shall view it: for, until I see it, I do not know whether it be worth sending at all; and, if I do meddle with it, I suppose I shall choose to have it come loose to Boston, and by no means to think of shipping it off thence, unless you and any of the partners will join me in

sending home the *black lead*, either to England or Holland, on a joint account."[1]

In April, 1677, he writes: —

"I have sometimes thought if we, the partners of Point Judith Neck, did fence with a good stone-wall at the north end thereof, that no kind of horses nor cattle might get thereon, and also what other parts thereof westerly were needful, and procure a very good breed of large and fair mares and horses, and that no mongrel breed might come among them, and yourself, Jahleel Brenton, for his father's interest, or Mrs. Sanford in behalf of them all, and any other partner that is able and willing, we might have a very choice breed for coach-horses, some for the saddle, some for the draught, and, in a few years, might draw off considerable numbers, and ship them for Barbadoes, Nevis, or such parts of the Indies where they would vend. We might have a vessel made for that service, accommodated on purpose to carry off horses to advantage. If Mr. Bull[2] be accepted a partner, he may assist well in this business."

That this proposition was carried into effect, may be inferred from a letter of Mr. Hull to William Heiffernan, in which he says: —

"I am informed that you are so shameless that you offered to sell some of my horses. I would have you know that they are, by God's good providence, mine. Do you bring me in

[1] There can scarcely be a doubt that this "black lead" consisted of specimens of the plumbaginous coal since mined at Portsmouth, in Rhode Island, and now well known as Rhode-Island coal. The use of anthracite coal was not at all known in England or New England in the seventeenth century, unless, possibly, for purely local purposes in the immediate neighborhood of some of the English localities.

[2] Jireh, son of Governor Bull, who became a large proprietor in Narragansett.

some good security for my money that is justly owing, and I shall be willing to give you some horses, that you shall not need to offer to steal any."

Is it not probable, that from these "fair mares" sprang that celebrated race of ponies, which, in the language of the "North-American Review," "carried fair equestrians from one to another of the many hospitable dwellings scattered over the fields" of ancient Aquidneck in Dean Berkeley's time, and respecting which we have the testimony of the Rev. Dr. McSparran, that they were so remarkable for their fleetness that he had "seen some of them pace a mile in little more than two minutes"?[1]

In his capacity as Treasurer of the Colony, his financial skill was called into special requisition; and, if he has not exaggerated in describing the difficulties attending the execution of his official duties, they were frequent and perplexing, When Mr. Winslow was about to go as agent to England, Mr. Hull records, that "all the Court was troubled how to furnish him with money or beaver; for there was nothing in the treasury, the country being in debt one thousand pounds, and what comes in by levies is corn or cattle. But the Lord stirred up the hearts of some few persons to lend a hundred pounds, to be repaid by the next levy." In addition to this,

[1] For an account of the Petaquampscot purchases, of its various proprietors, and the subsequent transfers of their interest therein, see Potter's Hist. of Narragansett, R. I. Hist. Collections, vol. iii.

Mr. Winslow was obliged to accept a contribution from the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" to aid in his support while in London. But this was in the time of Hull's predecessor. During the agency of Bulkley and Stoughton, he frequently alludes, in his correspondence, to the loss he sustained by the transfer of his private funds from the legitimate and more profitable objects of their appropriation to the use of the public.

Writing, June 1676, to "Cousin Thomas Buckman and cousin Daniel Allin," he says: —

"I have so much business forced upon me by the country since our wars began, that I have no time to do as I would; and my former thoughts of coming over being at present dashed, and the times being more than ordinary times of mortality (many dear friends being lately dead), I desire to have a full issue. And therefore, as I did order you, in my letters of June 7, 1675, to take all that money that I had then in my Cousin Allin's hands, so now also I do order you the other money that I added to that since that time."

The following letters in relation to the "outfit and salary" and services of those early diplomatists, which we find in his letter-book, are not without interest in other respects, while they indicate the burthensome labors imposed on the Treasurer: —

"Boston, Dec. 22, 1677.

"To Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley.

"Gent., — I kindly and most humbly salute you, and daily desire to remember you at the Throne of Grace, and hope

you will experience the many prayers here put up for you; and that we all shall find that the Lord intends to do good to this poor country, whatever trials he exercises us with. Gent., you have now an opportunity, which, it may be, you will not have again the like, to supplicate the king's majesty's grace and favor, and also the Parliament's, for these two things for this poor country, that we may not be oppressed in the exercise of the new religion, nor in our trade. If that we send our fish to Bilboa, and carry the produce thereof into the Straits, at great charge and hazard, and procure fruits, oil, soap, wine, and salt (the bulk of our loadings salt, because that most necessary for us, and always ready to be had at Cadiz); and because we have little of the other goods, for our necessity calls not for much, — we must go to England to pay his majesty's customs; which is as the cutting off our hands and feet as to our trade: we must neither do nor walk any more; but this orphan plantation will be crushed. If we carry our provisions, which we have raised with great difficulty, because of long winters, &c., to the West Indies, we pay custom for our cotton, wool, and sugar there; and the bulk of them are sent to England again from hence, and pay custom there a second time. If we might have liberty for our vessels only to trade into the Straits, or a certain number of them every year, though it were but two or three ships in a year, to supply the country with such necessaries as those parts afford; but, for this so remote plantation to be punctually bound up to the acts of trade relating to England, methinks, if represented to a gracious sovereign and compassionate parliament, such a poor orphan plantation might have some exemption from the severity of those acts of trade.

"Gent., I have sent you in this ship, — the 'Blessing,' John Phillips master, — eighteen hundred and sixty codfish. There is about seven hundred of them very large fish,

between two and three feet long; the other under two feet: they are well salted down in the ship's bread-room. Also ten barrels of cranberries and three barrels of samp, as, by the invoice and bills of lading enclosed, you will see more particularly."

The "invoice of fish, cranberries, and samp, shipped on board the 'Blessing,' John Phillips master, on account of the Massachusetts Colony, and consigned to William Stoughton, Esq., and Mr. Peter Bulkley," is as follows: —

"Eighteen hundred and sixty codfish, whereof the very large fish cost, with all charges on board	£35	10*s.*	0*d.*
Ten barrels of cranberries	6	0	0
Three barrels of samp	7	0	0

"JOHN HULL, *Treasurer.*"

On this occasion, he remits two hundred pounds in money, having previously ordered one hundred pounds to be paid them by Thomas Papillon, his correspondent in London, and "sent sugar to Mr. John Ive to procure another hundred pounds." He adds that "our honored Governor promised me to pay you a hundred pounds; that will be in all (with the five hundred pounds I procured last year), one thousand pounds." And concludes, "I have no order for more; neither will I say any thing how difficultly I have procured this, that you may have no discouragement from, Gent., your loving friend and humble servant,

"JOHN HULL."

Nov. 26, 1678, Hull writes to the agents as follows: —

"Honored Gentlemen, — Yourselves were not pleased to give me accounts of the engagements made, and the time of it, for completing your payment for the Province of Maine; nor did the Council or Court do it here; so that, if I should fail them of performance, they must bear their own blame. Neither have I any thing in hand; but understanding, very lately, that there is seven hundred pound to be paid next March, or about that time, I have entreated Mr. John Ive to take up the said sum at interest in London, until I can fully repay him again, if you have not already taken it up: for the Governor Leverett telleth me that he had advised you, in his letters, so to do; and he supposeth it is done, or will be effectually performed by you. Therefore, if you do not herein need my credit, I beseech you spare it; for I am almost afraid least I should crack it: but what contracts you have made, I beseech you please to give me notice, clearly and as speedily as you can, that I may not be over suddenly surprised, whether the money be to be repaid in London or in Boston. The truth is, it is very difficult to get money here; but it is more difficult to get money at London. I hope the good Lord will help me and you through troublesome public business in safety, which I shall account an exceeding great favor."

At the same time, he writes to Mr. Ive: —

"I understand the country's occasions to be such, that Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Bulkley, having bought the Province of Maine, will need seven hundred pounds to complete the payment thereof. I do not, by these, contradict my former order, that what you have bought for me I would have you send it;

but I desire you to do me that favor to take up so much money at interest, on behalf of the country, as shall make up what money of mine you have in your hands seven hundred pounds, if said Messrs. Stoughton and Bulkley have not taken it on their own credit: for, if they have, it is well enough. Then you may send me mine; and I shall take care, in the country's behalf, to see them paid when they give me notice of it. I confess I am very bold with you to desire such a great favor of you; but I hope you will not deny it, being it is for public service: but I do oblige myself, that, through the goodness and favor of God, whatever I myself should suffer by it, you shall not lose one penny. Therefore I desire you earnestly, that, in case the said gentlemen have not supplied themselves, or cannot with freedom of their own minds do it, let them not fail. I hope the Lord will help me and them through this troublesome service, and this poor country suffer not through their difficulties."

Giving notice of his negotiation with Ive to the agents, he adds: —

"I do live in hope that the Lord will help myself and you through all these difficulties that we are put upon for this poor people here. Through the Lord's mercy, I have, with some good measure of willingness and cheerfulness, gone through them hitherto, and hope that he will graciously carry me through."

A transaction of a more delicate nature is alluded to in a letter addressed by Hull, June 20, 1683, to Mr. Thomas Glover. It was written during the agency of Dudley and Richards, at a period when the colony was suffering under his majesty's displea-

sure, principally in consequence of the misrepresentations of Edward Randolph. It is related, that, while apprehensive of the loss of the Charter, Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire, advised the "tendering two thousand guineas for his majesty's private service," as a means of securing his favor; and that the Court, agreeing to the proposal, was betrayed by its adviser, whereby reproach was brought upon the Court, and the embarrassment of its agents increased, who complained that they were "ridiculed for the sham thus put upon the country."

"Mr. THO. GLOVER: Sir, — If the agents of this colony, Mr. Joseph Dudley and Mr. John Richards, should, by God's wise providence, and advice of our best friends among you, find that the having some quantity of money in London would be of any considerable advantage unto this poor country, these are to entreat you to take up five hundred pounds in my behalf, at as low interest as you can, and supply them with it, taking two receipts of them for it, and send one over unto me; and I do hereby oblige myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, to see you honestly and fully repaid, both principal and interest. It is not for their ordinary expenses; for that the Treasurer of the country, Mr. James Russell, will take effectual care about: but, as I may impart to you privately, — what you can easily there guess at, whether it will be advisable, or, if so, whether feasible, — to buy our peaceable enjoyments of men, though the Lord hath freely lent us the so long enjoyment; yet we have not been thankful nor fruitful, but have justly and many a time forfeited all of them. Therefore, sir, in your acquaintance with our agents, if you do think any thing is to be done, I entreat you, if they do

require it, that you will not fail to comply with the sum above written; and I will be as firmly and am hereby obliged to you as your heart can desire, or as any love of God or world require, to pay you both principal and interest. I leave all to the Lord's good guidance, and humbly, at present, take my leave, who am your real friend and servant,

"JOHN HULL."

Again, on the same subject, and to the same person, he writes, under date of July 5: —

"In my letters by Mr. Jenner, of June 20, I entreated you, that, if the agents of our colony, Messrs. Dudley and Richards, find that it would considerably advantage this poor people of God in the wilderness to purchase our quiet, and should, for that end, need money in London, then that yourself would please take up five hundred pound, at as low interest as you could, and supply them with it all if they should need, or so much as that need calleth for. Sir, I now write again unto you that I will repay, and hereby do oblige myself, &c., that I will repay, you fully."

These letters indicate his agency and interest in public affairs until the close of his life; the latter being dated but two months before his decease.

He died intestate. In the petition of his administrators to the Court, for settling and passing his accounts, "as Treasurer for the war, and Treasurer of the country," they say: —

"How faithfully he approved himself, and ready to serve the country both with his estate and in person, is well known to many. Besides his other pains, one of his relations and two of his apprentices did labor much in this service; for all

which he hath not charged one penny; — that he was all along many hundred pounds out of his own estate, for the supply of the country in their straits by danger at home, and on occasions of agency in England, and did preserve their credit by his taking up and engaging for considerable sums on their behalf, besides his own disbursements, to the lessening of his trade, &c.; and that many hundreds of pounds more than he claimed would not have compensated his damage."

The petition met with prompt attention, and an amicable settlement was effected (November, 1683).

The residence of Mr. Hull was in the southerly part of the town.[1] Writing to his cousin, Daniel Allen, in 1674, he speaks of Mr. James Lloyd[2] as having taken "a very good place for trade, so that he can sell three times as much as I can," &c.; and adds, "I have often told both my uncle and you, that my habitation is greatly disadvantageous for trade; yet because I always desired a quiet life, and not too much business, it was always best for me."

Writing to Henry Foxwell, in 1674, he says: "I have ever been averse to strive at the law, never having sued any man or been sued; and I observe the law to be very much like a lottery, — great charge, little benefit." His letter-book shows, however, that, consistently with his own methodical habits, he very much insisted on promptness and

[1] That is, as the town then was. His house was nearly opposite the spot where the Massachusetts Historical Society's Hall now stands.

[2] Ancestor of the Hon. James Lloyd, and of the Long-Island family of that name.

punctuality on the part of others. A specimen of the severity of his rebuke of a dilatory debtor is furnished in the following letter, addressed, March 5, 1679–80, to the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich: —

"Sir, — I have patiently and a long time waited, in hopes that you would have sent me some part of the money which I, in such a friendly manner, parted with to supply your necessities, and which you so firmly and frequently promised me that I should never lose by so doing; but I experimentally find that I have waited and hoped in vain. I did indeed think that the ministerial calling you had given up yourself unto did oblige me for to be willing to help you; and I did also think it would oblige you for to be very true and just in your performance to me. Sir, I do entreat you more seriously to consider thereof. I have been very slow, hitherto, to sue you at the law, because of that dishonor that will thereby come to God by your failure; but, if you make no great matter of it, I shall take myself bound to make use of that help which God and the country have provided for my just indemnity. Sir, I told you I was willing to remit the great advantage that protested bills of exchange would, in the way of law, allow unto me, and be content with six in the hundred for the forbearance of my money; whereas, had you performed your covenant to me, I had made thirty pounds on the hundred, which is to me a very considerable loss. Sir, your personal debt unto me (besides Mr. John Hubbard's obligation) is three hundred forty-seven pounds five shillings, which if you will please to render in unto me, or any considerable part thereof, speedily in money, and give me bond, with good personal security, for the rest, to pay me in some reasonable time, and five pounds in the hundred for the forbearance, truly and justly paid to me every six months, and until

it be paid, and as you shall lessen the principal, so I to abate on the interest, I will yet sit down contented, though it be much to my damage. But if you do not this, or some other thing that is honest, just, and rational, I think you may expect to be called to our next County Court, which I think is the last Tuesday in April next; and I suppose, sir, you cannot but hold me excused, as doing nothing but what yourself do force me unto. In the mean while, I wait to see what you will please to do, and remain your loving friend,

"JOHN HULL."

And this to the old historian of New England, then in his sixtieth year, and who, says Dr. Eliot, was "certainly, for many years, the most eminent minister in the county of Essex." The debt was a formidable one for the time, and was not paid during the life of Hull. In 1685, his administrator offered to cancel it on the payment of two hundred and ten pounds.

Another specimen is a letter addressed to Mr. Joseph Butler, 1672: —

"I cannot but wonder that you should have so much care to run into my debt, and so little conscience to pay. John Plumbe hath not paid me much; but you not any thing. You know you had very good goods of me, to the value of above three hundred and thirty pounds; and I have your bond, under seal, to have payed me the whole by June last twelvemonth, which time is now past about eighteen months; and it is but strange what you think of such actions. You cannot be so stupid as to forget your obligations, or to think this is a way to help you by unrighteous provocation of your patient creditor. Let me not be forced to make an example

of all unrighteous debtors in Connecticut; but show your fidelity and honesty by a speedy payment of him who subscribes himself your friend, JOHN HULL."

Of the relatives of Mr. Hull in *England*, were his uncle Thomas Parris, and his cousins Sarah and Caroline Parris; a cousin Judith, wife of Daniel Allen; a cousin Thomas Bucknam, who died in 1678, and Mary his wife, afterwards married to Nicholas Brattle; a cousin Edward Hull, of London; and, in *Massachusetts*, cousin[1] Richard Storer, the son of Elizabeth Hull, wife of Robert, who, in 1639, was "allowed to be an inhabitant, and to have a great lot at the mount for three heads" (Boston Records). He also addresses "My loving brother, Joshua Scottow, and loving sister, your wife;" but he appears to mean, here, only brother in the Third Church, of which Scottow was a leading member. Robert, the father of Mr. Hull, died July 28, 1666; Elizabeth, his mother, died May 7, 1646. Mr. Quincy, the father of Mrs. Hull, died at the early age of thirty-three;[2] Mrs. Quincy, her mother, married, after his death, Moses Paine and Robert Hull, successively, and died in 1654.

Mrs. Sewall, daughter of Capt. Hull, was the ancestor of an honorable and distinguished lineage.

[1] The word *cousin* is used, according to the custom of that time, for *relative*. Richard Storer was his step-brother.

[2] Farmer.

Mr. Whitman, in his history of the Artillery Company, says that Capt. Hull took minutes of the sermons preached at Court and Artillery Elections, and finds, in his note-book, evidence that "he was a great student and reader in the ancient languages." This can hardly be thought consistent with the circumstances in which he was placed in early life, and the various and absorbing engagements of his later years. He manifested his regard, however, for scholarship, by presenting one hundred pounds to Harvard College.

Of his diary, it may be said that we have none printed of equal value after that of Winthrop and Bradford. Judge Sewall's may be considered a continuation of that of Hull, by whose example it is not improbable that he was induced to commence it.

SOME

PASSAGES OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE

ABOUT MYSELF AND IN RELATION TO MYSELF;

PENNED DOWN THAT I MAY BE THE MORE MINDFUL OF, AND THANKFUL FOR, ALL GOD'S DISPENSATIONS TOWARDS ME.[1]

DEUT. viii. 2: "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee, &c., to humble thee," &c. — Ver. 5: "Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee."

I WAS born in Market Hareborough, in Leicestershire,[2] in the year 1624, about December 18.

When I was about two years of age, God gave me this special deliverance from death: As I was playing in the streets, a number of pack-horses came along; and the foremost horse struck me down upon my back with his knee; and yet, when I was down, God so ordered it that he held up his foot over my body, and moved not until some of my relations came out of the shop, and took me out of his way.

Also twice I was saved from the danger of scalding and

[1] See APPENDIX A.

[2] Market Harborough, a market-town and chapelry of England, parish Great Bowden, Co. Leicester, Hundred Gartree, on the north bank of the Welland, which separates it from Northamptonshire. It is situated about eighty-three miles from London, and fourteen miles south-east of Leicester. In the days of Camden, and even lately, it was noted for its beast-fair, where the best horses and colts were sold. The chief manufactory of the place is carpets. The market-day is Tuesday. Number of inhabitants in 1831, 2,272. It was very early noted for its free school.

burning, and escaped with little hurt. And being brought up in Hareborough, at school, until I was near ten years old, my father removed to New England, with whom I came, by the way of Bristol, in the ship "George," Mr. Nicholas Shapley master. We set sail from kingrode, in Bristol, upon the 28th of September, 1635; and by the 7th of November (being the seventh day of the week) we arrived at Boston in New England; where, by the way, we fell upon the sands at the Isle of Sables; and the ship struck upon the ground or sands thirty blows, to the amazement of master and mariners;[1] and, hope of safety being taken away, the sailors[2] would have hoisted out the long-boat, to have fled for their safety, though they had another pretence. But the all-knowing God would not suffer them, with all their power (and also the help of many passengers), to get out the boat: but it hung by a fluke of the anchor; and God so ordered it, that (after long beating there and much fear) he turned the ship off again into the sea, and the next day gave us a great calm, and, by it, liberty to mend our broken helm, and other things that were amiss.

After we here arrived, my father settled at Boston; and, after a little keeping at school, I was taken from school to help my father plant corn, which I attended for seven years together; and then, by God's good hand, I fell to learning (by the help of my brother), and to practising the trade of a goldsmith, and, through God's help, obtained that ability in it, as I was able to get my living by it.

In the year 1646, the 7th of 3d month, at five in the afternoon, my mother, Elizabeth Hull, was taken away by death, being the fifth day of the week.[3]

[1] In the margin is the note, "We struck upon the sands the 17th October."

[2] In the margin is the note, "One special providence in this deliverance."

[3] Mrs. Elizabeth Hull, mother of the diarist, was a Widow Storer previous to her marriage with Robert Hull.

1647. In the year 1647, the 11th of 3d month, Mr. John Winthrop married me and my wife Judith, in my own house, being the third day of the week.[1]

In the year 1652, 23d of 11th month, upon the sabbath-day, at seven o'clock in the morning, God gave me two daughters at a birth, Elizabeth and Mary. They were baptized the 30th of the same month.[2]

The 31st of the 11th, at eight in the morning, my daughter Mary died, being the second day of the week.

1652.

The first of 12th, about eight in the morning, my daughter Elizabeth died.

The 29th of 1st month, 1654, my wife's mother died, being the fourth day of the week, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Signifies Jehovah's grace.

The 3d of November, 1654, my son, John Hull, was born, at three in the morning, being the sixth day of the week, *like the . . . . all day.*

The 14th of November, my son John died, at half an hour past six in the morning, being the third day of the week.

The good Lord, by all these various changes, make me more his own, and wean me more from myself and all fading comforts, that he alone may be my portion!

1657. The 14th of the 12th month, called February, in the night of that day before the sabbath, betwixt nine and ten o'clock, the Lord gave my wife a safe delivery of my daughter Hannah; and so speedily, that, though the midwife came within half an hour after she was sent for, yet the child was safely born before she could come.[3]

[1] Mrs. Judith Hull was daughter of Edmund and Judith Quincy.

[2] At this point in the Diary is a marginal note in short-hand, the first of several short-hand notes in the Diary and the letter-books. The short-hand used by Hull was that of Theophilus Metcalfe. This note is, "Elizabeth signifies the fulness of God; Mary, exalted." See APPENDIX B.

Passages of short-hand in the MS. will be printed in Italics.

[3] In short-hand, in the margin, "*Hannah signifies merciful, taking rest or graciousness.*"

1661. The 1st of the 6th month, being the fifth day of the week, about ten o'clock in the morning, my son Samuel was safely born into the world, and baptized the next sabbath by Mr. John Norton.

The 20th day of said 6th month, at two of the clock in the night, before the day, my son Samuel was taken out of this world, having been pained in the bowels near four days and nights.

1675, 28th February, Mr. Broadstreet married my daughter Hannah to Mr. Samuel Sewall.[1]

1677, April 2, Monday, half hour past ten at night, John Sewall was born.

1678, June 11, Tuesday, half an hour after five in the morning, Samuel Sewall was born.[2]

1647. It pleased God not to let me run on always in my sinful way, the end of which is hell: but, as he brought me to this good land, so he planted me under choice means, —

[1] The famous Judge Sewall. His great-grandfather was a linen-draper of Coventry, England. Henry, the oldest son, sent his only son, Henry, then young, to New England, in 1634. He settled in Newbury, where his father soon followed. His son married Jane, the eldest daughter of Stephen and Alice Dummer, on the 25th of March, 1646. Mr. Dummer and his family, and with them Mr. Sewall and his wife, returned to England, and dwelt a while at Warwick, and at Bishop Stoke, in Hampshire. At this last-named place, Judge Sewall, the eldest son, was born, on the 28th of March, 1652. The family then removed to Badfly, in the same county, where Major Stephen Sewall, of Salem, was born, 19th August, 1657. The father returned to New England in 1659, and the family followed him, arriving at Boston on the 5th of July, 1661, Samuel then being nine years old. His wife, Hannah, whom it appears, by the entry in the Diary, he married on the 28th of February, 1675–6, and who was the only daughter of her father, died on the 17th of October, 1717. Judge Sewall afterwards married Mrs. Abigail Tilley, on the 29th of October, 1719, who died on the 26th of the following May (1720). He then married Mrs. Mary Gibbs, who survived him. Judge Sewall died on the 1st of January, 1729–30. By his first wife, he had seven sons and seven daughters, of whom two sons and one daughter survived him.

[2] We copy these entries in the order of the MS.; but from the changes in handwriting, and color of ink, it appears that the next entry, dated 1647, was written at the same time with that of the same date above. The intermediate entries had been inserted on a blank page at various times.

viz., in Boston, under the ministry of Mr. John Cotton, — and, in the end, did make his ministry effectual (by the breathings of his own good Spirit) to beget me to God, and in some measure to increase and build me up in holy fellowship with him. Through his abundant grace, he gave me room in the hearts of his people, so that I was accepted to fellowship with his church, about the 15th of October, 1648.

1648. And he made me also, according to the talent he betrusted me with, in some small measure serviceable to his people, and also gave me acceptance and favor in their eyes, and, as a fruit thereof, advancement (I must needs say) above my deserts. I was chosen and accepted a corporal, under the command of my honored Major Gibbons, about the 29th of the 3d month, 1648.

After, when the town divided their one military company into four, I was chosen to be (and accepted) a sergeant, upon the 28th of 4th month, 1652.

1652. Also upon occasion of much counterfeit coin brought in the country, and much loss accruing in that respect (and that did occasion a stoppage of trade), the General Court ordered a mint to be set up, and to coin it, bringing it to the sterling standard for fineness, and for weight every shilling to be three pennyweight; i. e., 9*d.* at 5*s.* per ℥.[1] And they

[1] The meaning of this explanation is this, that, if the English shilling were regarded as weighing five shillings to the ounce, our New-England shilling would be worth ninepence by the English standard. At that standard, the English shilling weighed four dwt.; ours weighed but three, and its value, of course, was that of three-fourths of an English shilling, or ninepence.

The Court had directed (Records, May 31, 1652) that the value should be *two*pence in a shilling less than the English: but they also permitted the mint-master to take one shilling out of every twenty for coinage; and this deduction of one-twentieth seems to have been added (even with excess) to the previous deduction of two-twelfths; for the direction, that each shilling shall weigh three pennyweight, is made by the Court in the same article. Had it not been distinctly provided that our shilling should weigh three pennyweights, the other directions would have made it a trifle heavier. The English standard, in fact, was not 4 dwt., but 3 dwt. 21 grs. (Kelly), or 93 grains. Deducting from this one-sixth (that the value might be "twopence in a shilling of less value than the English coin"), and one-twentieth

made choice of me for that employment; and I chose my friend, Robert Sanderson,[1] to be my partner, to which the Court consented.

1653. In November, Master James Garret set sail, and Master Amos Foord, two ships laden with masts and other merchants' goods, who were both taken by the Dutch; wherein I also lost to the value of one hundred and twenty pounds, in beaver and other furs, &c., which I had shipped in them, bound for London. The loss of my estate will be nothing, if the Lord please to join my soul nearer to himself, and loose it more from creature comforts: my loss will be repaired with advantage. The Lord also hath made up my loss in outward estate. To him be all praise!

1654. About the 2d month, I was, by the South Military Company of Boston, chosen an ensign, and by the Court accepted; only, our company not being settled for some space of time with a captain, I received not commission until the 8th of November in 1655; and the good Lord, who only

for Hull's commission, our coin would have weighed 72.85 grains; an excess of eighty-five hundredths of a grain above three dwt.

In the brief note of Hull's above is the whole history of the difference between Massachusetts currency and the sterling rate, on which so much has unnecessarily been written. The Massachusetts shilling weighed three dwts., while the English was thought to weigh four. It was worth three-fourths of the English, if the English were taken at the standard of five to the ounce. The Massachusetts pound held to the sterling pound the same proportion, of three to four.

To prevent the "clipping" of the coin, the Court ordered, at an early date, that it should be surrounded by a double ring (Records, Oct. 19, 1652). And it does not appear ever to have suffered so severely from this cause as the English silver coinage before the introduction of milled coins, when coin which had weighed four hundred ounces was clipped and sweated, while in circulation, till it was reduced to one hundred and sixteen ounces (Macaulay, chap. 20).

The New-England mint was suppressed, it is supposed, by Andros, soon after Hull's death. The great reform of the English silver currency, under Montague, which made Sir Isaac Newton the fellow-craftsman of John Hull, was wrought in 1696. It was compelled by the great evil of clipped coin, which it prevented by the milled edges of the new coin. The Massachusetts Court had aimed at the same evil by their provision of 1652. For some further notes on the history of this coinage, see APPENDIX C.

[1] Probably Deacon Robert Sanderson, who died at Boston, Oct. 7, 1698.

can, I beseech he would please to make me able and fit for, and faithful in, the place I am called unto, that I may, as with a spirit of wisdom and humility, love, and faithfulness, obey my superiors; so also be exemplary and helpful to my inferiors, and, by him, be kept from temptation and corruption or pollution.

1656, 25th of 2d. I was chosen by the sergeant-major and military officers to keep the record of their proceedings in that court.

1657, 9th of 1st. I was chosen by the town of Boston, though myself unmeet, to be one of the seven men to look after the town's affairs. The Lord make me sensible of the new debt I am hereby obliged in, and give me answerable grace!

About the 2d of October, it pleased the Lord to send the disease of the measles into my family, which took hold of my wife, being great with child; yet it pleased the Lord mercifully to restore her in a week's time to former health. My little cousin Daniel,[1] and my maid, had the same disease, and, through favor, found God's restoring mercy.

14th of 12th. God was pleased safely to deliver my wife of a daughter, and so speedily before the midwife could come to her.

8th of 1st, 1657–8. I was chosen again, for this year, to be one of the Selectmen for the town of Boston. The Lord give me wisdom and humility!

28th of 1st, 1658. My wife went forth to the meeting, after her lying-in, and keeping house six weeks.

I was also chosen by the Selectmen to receive, keep, and dispose of the town's stock or treasure. The Lord make me a faithful steward!

The Lord was pleased to bereave me of one hundred and

[1] Daniel Quincy, born Sept. 12, 1650.

twenty pound estate, which I had in Master Garret's ship[1] and the ketch, both which were lost this last year in going for London. The Lord wean my heart more from these outward things, and fix it more upon himself! The loss will then be gain.

Sept. 1. My boy, John Sanderson, complained of his head aching, and took his bed. A strong fever set on him; and, after seventeen days' sore sickness, he departed this life.

7th of 7th, 1658. My cousin Daniel Quincy was also cast upon his sick-bed, within a week after the other, and had also the fever, and was brought very low, but, through God's favor, well recovered by the 17th of 8th. My wife was ill when these first began to be sick: but it pleased God, as they sickened, she strengthened; and he kept her, and my little daughter Hannah, that then sucked upon her, from any spice of the fever, though continually necessitated to be in the same chamber. The Lord make me sensible of his hand, and of the mixtures of his mercy to me therein, though most unworthy!

14th of 8th. I was myself ill, and had a spice of the fever; but the Lord suffered it not to prevail. I only kept the house two days.

8th of 9th. The Lord likewise exercised with sickness my partner, Robert Sanderson, and his son Joseph, but yet was pleased to recover them both. Joseph kept the house about a month, and my partner eighteen days.

24th of 10th. My maid was taken sick as with a strong fever; but the Lord was pleased to restore her to health in three or four days.

[1] In the year 1657, the ship of Capt. Garret, with all the crew and passengers, among whom were Mr. Thomas Mayhew, and also Mr. Jonathan Ince, John Davis, and Nathaniel Pelham, graduates of the College, and others, was lost on a voyage to England. — See note in Hull's public Diary, 4th mo., 1657.

1659, 11th of 2d. My daughter Hannah was taken from her mother's breast, and, through the favor of God, weaned without any trouble; only, about fifteen days after, she did not eat her meat well. Hannah weaned.

21st of 2d. My father was taken very ill.

1st of 6th. My son Samuel safely born, and, 4th of the 6th, baptized.

The Lord made up my lost goods in the two vessels last year by his own secret blessing, though I know not which way. Lost estate made up.

1658–9, 14th of 1st. I was chosen again to be one of the Selectmen for the year ensuing. The Lord assist in the whole service!

1659, 11th of 2d. My wife began to wean her daughter Hannah, and, through favor, well effected it.

21st of 2d. My father fell sick of a fever.[1]

22d of 3d. The Lord restored my father to some comfortable measure of health, and he also went to the house of God.

27th of 3d. I went up beyond Medfield, with a surveyor, to lay out a farm of three hundred acres of land, which I bought of Mr. William Colbron.[2] We did almost accomplish it that day; but I could not catch my horse, and so we were forced to lie in the woods that night. The next morning, we could not find him, and so were forced to come home without him, or else I could not be at home before the sabbath.

30th of 3d. I received intelligence of [that] the ship "White Roach," Capt. Solomon Clarke, commander, Estate lost.

[1] The recurrence of these entries is one of many instances which show that the entries were not all made immediately on the day noted.

[2] Mr. William Colbron was a ruling elder of the First Church in Boston. He was a man of considerable distinction, holding various civil offices. He died on the 1st of August, 1662.

was taken by the Spaniard, wherein I had in furs, upon my own account, £51. 18*s.* 7*d.*

1st of 5th. I received into my house Jeremie Dummer[1] and Samuel Paddy,[2] to serve me as apprentices eight years. The Lord make me faithful in discharge of this new trust committed to me, and let his blessing be to me and them!

4th of 5th. I went up to Petaquamscot, in Narragansett, upon Monday morning; lodged that night at Providence; next morning went to Warwick, and, the boat being on ground, tarried at Mr. Smith's most of that day. Discoursed with Mr. Gorton,[3] who denieth the Lord's Christ. At even, I went to Road Island, lodged at Mr. Wilbore's,[4] next night at Mr. Porter's.[5] Upon fifth day morning, went in the boat to Petaquamscot: there also was forced to spend

[1] Born at Newbury, Sept. 14, 1645. One of the Council of Safety, 1689. He was father of the more celebrated Jeremy Dummer, and died May 24, 1718 (Farmer). Atwater's "son-in-law, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, whom I had a considerable interest in, being formerly my servant." (Hull MS.)

[2] Son of Deacon William Paddy, who died at Boston, Aug. 24, 1658. Judge Sewall addresses him at Jamaica, Aug. 22, 1685: "Sir, your brother Thomas coming to me with a letter from yourself, ordering him to receive into his own hand what was due to you from Capt. John Hull, my late honored father-in-law, accordingly I looked at your account, and found your debt to be thirteen pounds seven shillings and threepence in one article. Your credit was twenty-eight pounds. So I gave your brother Thomas fourteen pounds twelve shillings and ninepence, the balance, and delivered him a bond for three pounds one shilling, dated Nov. 10, 1668, with some pewter, linen, and earthenware, — all that was left by my father for you. Wherefore I desire that you write me by the next, expressing your approbation of what I have done in this kind on your behalf. Mother Hull remembers her love to you, and her daughter Hannah, my wife, by whom God hath given me five children: four are alive, — two sons, two daughters. Wishing you prosperity, I take leave, who am your friend and servant, SAMUEL SEWALL."

[3] Samuel Gorton, the famous heresiarch. He suffered severely for his contumacy from the governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts, but was now residing in security, without their jurisdiction. He died in 1676. His Life, written by Mr. John Milton Mackie, has been published by Mr. Sparks.

[4] This Mr. Wilbore may have been Shadrach Wilbore, of Taunton, an important person in that town.

[5] John Porter, one of the associates in the purchase of Petaquampscot. His encounters with Gorton and Porter must have shocked the Puritan sensibility of Hull.

the sabbath in discourse with Mr. Porter, who holds that all shall be saved. On the next second day afternoon, I came to Mr. Smith's, at Narragansett; next morning, to Warwick; that day, to Patuxet; and on the fourth day, about five o'clock, to my own house, at Boston, through the mercy of God in health, and so likewise found my family.

8th of 9th. My lost horse was brought unto me. He had been taken in an Indian trap, near Taunton.

1659, Dec. 23. [In short-hand.] *I shipped three hogsheads of furs aboard the ship "Trial." And they start, though with cloudy weather. And they miss of sailing on the 24th. Two days [after], on the 27th of December, I went aboard with them myself, and got them well aboard. Upon the 28th of December, being the fifth day of the week, the ship was anchored in the road all the . . . . ; and upon the 2d, being the 2d of the 11th, she set sail thence, at nine of day. At two, however, it came foul weather, and so continued, ... and cloudy weather until the 12th of 11th.*

1660, 12th of 1st. I was chosen also by the town for this year to be one of the seven Selectmen to order their affairs, and also by the Selectmen to be the town's Treasurer. The Lord give me wisdom and faithfulness!

13th of 2d. [Three lines of undeciphered short-hand.]

18th of 2d. [In short-hand.] *Our private meeting appointed, and kept a day for a day of humiliation, to seek the Lord for the church of God and the people of Christ; for the settling of the articles and peace of our native country, and the preserving of it here.*

Oct. 1, I was admitted into the Artillery Company.

Nov. 21. Our private meeting kept for a day of humiliation [in short-hand] *at our house, for the state of our native country, it being like to come . . . . under the bishops; the church countenancing the old liturgy, and formalities again to*

be practised . . . . and for our sins here that do meet . . . . wrath of God; and the . . . . order and worship of his house; and for ourselves . . . .

Dec. 3, I went to Naticook, lodged at Chelmsford the first night, thence went with a pilot to John Crowell's. The 5th of December, I came safe home. [Eight unintelligible words.]

1660, 5th of 11th. Our family was all partakers of the epidemical cold, but, through favor, very gently. Little Hannah lay two days without any mind to play or food. My wife continued four or five days with a great pain in her head and eyes; and most of us one or two days, exercised with pain either in the head, eyes, or throat.

Dec. 12th and 15th, I lost two mares, at Braintree, by the murrain.

11th of 1st, 1660–61. I was again chosen by the town to be one of their Selectmen, and by the Selectmen to be the town's Treasurer. The Lord keep a continual sense upon my heart of the weight of these places and my own weakness, and afford his gracious presence!

Being in England, I went to the town[1] where my wife Judith was born, and took her age out of the register: born Sept. 3, 1626.

Sept. 3, 1662. That same day, I arrived safe at my own house.[2]

1661, 13th of 6th. I went up to Portsmouth, on Road Island; lodged at Taunton that night; next day came to Mr. Wilbore's, lodged there 14th and 15th of the same. The 16th day, I returned about one of the clock; came to Taunton that night, and lodged there. The 17th day, I came to my

[1] Ashurch, in Northamptonshire.

[2] The last entries are of a later date, inserted in a gap in the page.

own house in safety, but found my little babe sick with gripings.

20th of 6th, being the third of the week, in the night before the day, between ten and eleven o'clock, my son Samuel died.

Feb. 10, I went on shipboard, and, 24th of March following, was at London. After about one month's stay there, went down into the country, visited my own kindred and town, and went also as far as Hull to see my cousin Hoar.[1] Returned safe to London, despatched my business there, and, through the good hand of God, arrived again at my own home the 3d of September, and found all in health. The good Lord make me truly thankful! 1662.

Several children I brought over, and all in health, and so disposed of them, and providentially missed the having of one Sam. Gaylor, who was after placed with Master Clark, and fell overboard, and was lost by the way.

1663, 2d of 1st, I was again chosen one of the seven Selectmen for the town of Boston, and by them for the Treasurer. The Lord make me able and faithful!

20th of 3d. Our private meeting kept a day of humiliation at our house.

1st of 4th. I was chosen ensign-bearer to the Artillery Company at Boston, under Major-General Leverett.

1663. 5th of 11th, 2d of 12th, I went to Mr. Flint's[2] to join in fasting and praises.

10 of 12. [In short-hand.] *I kept myself for my sins, and the people of God and his church; that, both confessing my own sins, and my family's, and the country's, and my native country's, desiring mercy, and with . . . . the Lord, to*

[1] Leonard Hoar, afterwards President of Harvard College. Hull writes, Aug. 22, 1672: "Cousin Dr. Hoar is safely arrived." His wife was said to be a "daughter of Lord Lisle."

[2] Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree, who married a sister of President Hoar.

myself, ... to my family, and supply of his mercy. For the country, submission to God's ordinance; . . . . of the country . . . . from ss. gulling *us by fomenting jealousy, with no cause, ... of God's mercy, and peace and preservation of . . . . of the Commonwealth . . . . in the church to the generation . . . . &c.*[1]

It pleased God to continue health in my family all this last year, and also not to be wanting in success to my endeavors and estate.

1664, 5th of 3d. We heard of the safe arrival of all the ships that sailed hence for England last year, and therein of the Lord's gracious preservation of the estates of his poor, despised people.

27th of 3d. The Lord brought in a small vessel, sent out by myself and others last winter for Alicant; and though several Turks' men-of-war of great force came on board them, and brake up their hold, yet they let them go safely, without robbing or spoiling them.

6th, 4th, I was chosen lieutenant to the Artillery Company.

The Lord brought in safe the several vessels that I had adventures in.

1664, Oct. 10, went up to Petaquamscot. [In short-hand.] *Lodged at Seekonk the first day; at Warwick, at Mrs. Smith's, the second day; at my own house the third day. 16th, spoke to the people at my own house;* and upon 19th day, in the morning, returned safe home, and found all well.

[1] This entry was made the year after Bradstreet and Norton's return, some months after Mr. Norton's death. (See Hull's public Diary.) They had been sent abroad as commissioners to the new king, in the hope of removing any prejudices against the colony, and of retaining the charter. They were favorably received, and returned, arriving Sept. 8, 1662, with an answer which they seem to have thought satisfactory. But, says Hutchinson, "they met with the fate of most agents ever since." It is evident, from the authorities he cites, that a great ferment resulted, and that Mr. Norton became very unpopular. Hull had been the companion of Bradstreet and Norton in their voyage out and home. He had doubtless conferred largely with them on their mission, and partook of their views. He is therefore disposed to speak harshly of those who "foment jealousy without cause."

December, Capt. Scarlett arrived, and brought news of the safety of Master Lord, Master Hawes, Master Peirce, in England, in whom I had considerable adventures.

1665

1st of 11th. I had a sore toe, which hindered me from going abroad three weeks; and yet, in my retirement, found much favor from God and love from friends. My friend, Capt. Davis, came three or four times to dress it: the other help was from my loving wife.

14th, 11th. Thomas Parriss went in Master B. Gillum's[1] ship to Barbadoes.

1665, 6th, 1st. The Lord brought in the ketch "Adventure," Peter Hubart, master, whereof I was part owner.

8th, 2d. Also the ketch "Friendship," Edward Howard, master.

17th, 2d, also the ship "Providence," Joseph Penwill, master. In the one, Master Knight was sent to manage; and the other, Nicholas Opie. The ship "Providence," with sore tempest, was forced to cut their masts; and Nicholas Opie washed overboard and lost, with one other man. The Lord preserved the rest, and brought them to Nevis, and returned them safe home.

1665, Aug. 1. About this time, I sent a considerable return home to London in Capt. Peirce, which the Lord brought safe to London. Master Gillam, in which also I had a considerable adventure, though not so much as in the other, was taken by a man-of-war. My returns likewise by Capt. Lock went safe.

Oct. 28, I freighted one-fourth part of a small vessel, and sent it to Swanzy, under management of Rowland Bevans.

1666, May. Pleased God to send in safe the ship "Providence," and the ketch "Exchange," and the ketch "Friendship," each being one-fourth mine.

[1] Benjamin Gillam was a noted shipmaster of Boston.

June. It pleased God to send in the "Society," from London, and to bring me news of my Uncle Parriss's[1] health, and all his, in the late great plague, when I had also formerly received tidings he was dead. Several goods also Master Clark now brought me, and especially some powder, which I exceedingly wanted.

July 28, about four in afternoon, the Lord tried me by calling for my honored father, Robert Hull, home to himself, being two days before taken with a flux, and then with violent cramp in his legs and burning at his heart, yet bore all with sweet patience and thankfulness; and though I am very loath to part, yet do desire willingly and thankfully to resign him up to his and my good Father's will, and to the bosom of his and my dear Lord Jesus, where I have, through grace, good hope to be again with him (in God's time) for ever.

15th of 6th. Our private meeting kept at our house a day of humiliation to show their sympathy with me, and to implore the Lord for his poor people here to direct us and our rulers, &c., and for his poor, suffering saints in England.

Oct. 30, I sent to England a considerable adventure in sundry ships, Master Clark, Master Peirce, &c. And it pleased the Lord all that I sent arrived safe, and came to a good market. The Lord make me thankful![2]

Dec 11, I sent like a considerable adventure by both Master Prouts, and Capt. Avis, and Master Gillam. We hear nothing of Capt. Avis's arrival, where I shall lose, if he be lost, near two hundred pounds.[2]

10th, 11th. Sam. Paddy fell sick of the small-pox. He

[1] Thomas Parriss, of London, to whom many of his commercial letters are addressed.

[2] The MS. shows that both these entries were added at a different date from the sentences with which they are connected.

went to his mother's house; but there I provided for him. The Lord was pleased to restore him in three weeks' time.

5th, 12th. Joseph Green had a very few.

6th, 12th. Jer. Dummer fell ill of the same disease; restored also in about three weeks' time. Deborah Bell had a few, and, about a month after, had them pretty full.

[One line of cipher.]

1666–7. 1st, 1st. My wife taken ill of the small-pox, having had about twelve days' trouble with a hot humor in her neck and shoulders; and, together with the pox which came [cipher], she had much trouble in her head by vapors from matrix and spleen, much impeding sleep, oftentimes fainting of spirits, beating of the heart.

1st, 2d. Daniel and Hannah fell sick of the small-pox; only had but very few.

15th, 2d. My wife, through the mercy of God, was restored to wonted health, and Daniel and Hannah likewise. The Lord enlarge my heart, and all mine, with praise to his great name!

3d of 3d month, Capt. Bevans came in, with our returns from Swanzy.

22d of 3d month, some friends, with Mrs. Reynor's,[1] kept a day of fast at my house.

Sept. 7, it pleased the Council to comply with the Lord Willoughby's letters, and to victual Capt. Henry Ady, one of his Majesty's frigates. Mr. Deputy Willoughby[2] and Major-General entreated me to undertake one ¼ part, which came to about a hundred and ten pounds money. I did perform it; and the Lord Willoughby did very punctually pay,

[1] Probably wife of Rev. John Reynor, of Plymouth and Dover, whose son, Rev. John Reynor, married Judith Quincy, daughter of the second Edmund Quincy. She died in 1679, aged twenty-three. Mr. Reynor died Dec. 21, 1676, not at Braintree, as stated by Farmer, but at Dover. It is supposed he got some great cold in attending the army when they followed the Eastern Indians (Hull MS.).

[2] See note to Hull's public diary, 4th of 2d, 1671.

in sugars and cotton, to Mr. Johnson, our agent, who shipped the most part of them in Capt. Allin and young Master Grafftton. Capt. Allin cast ashore on Cape Cod; Master Graffton burnt at Salem; and so all lost. The good Lord sanctify it to me and all concerned!

1667. 16th, 9th. God brought in our ship "Providence," from Bristol. 18th. Also ship "Swan," from London; and, in ten days' time, Capt. Scarlett's, Master Clark's, and several other vessels, when we were almost out of hope of seeing any ship from London this year. Master Clark was kept off six days by N.W. upon the coast, that we began to fear his safety. It was a very temperate winter, that, by Feb. 5, the ships were all laden, and gone again.

Feb. 5. Went also out Master Wing, in the "Hopewell," in which I held one-third, with Mr. Usher and Mr. Willoughby; but she would not bear any sail, but, through mercy, put in again to New Plymouth, and, upon 19th instant, returned safe to Boston.

1668, I was left out from being a Selectman.

26th, 2d. I was chosen by the town of Wenham to be their deputy this year; and, after much persuasion of Mr. Newman, Mr. Cobbitt,[1] and sundry other friends, I did accept the service.

2d and 4th of 3d. Came in several vessels safe from England, wherein I had goods.

This last winter, our ship "Providence," William Greenough,[2] master, was cast away on the French shore, Jean de Luce, bound for Bilboa. One-fourth of her was mine, and about fourteen pounds adventure in cocoa and tobacco. But it pleased God to preserve ketch "Friendship" at the same time and voyage, being half mine, and returned well from Bilboa.

[1] Rev. Antipas Newman, of Wenham, and Rev. Thomas Cobbett, of Ipswich.
[2] Capt. William Greenough, of Boston.

24th of 4th. Said ketch "Friendship" and ship "Desire" sailed hence, one for Barbadoes, other for Jamaica; both half mine, vessels and loading.

1669, 11th month. Master John Alden[1] went for England, in the ketch "Friendship," being three-fourths mine; came well to West Chester; and, through Mr. Alden's desire to expedite, he dealt with a man wanting honesty, who hindered him much time, and lost me much estate, — near five hundred pounds damage and loss to me, the Bermuda Company seizing that sort of tobacco. The vessel returned not home until May, 1671.

1669. Nov. 16, I went from my own house on board Master Clarke's ship, for to go to London to settle all former accounts with my uncle, and all persons with whom I had dealing. T. O E

1st, 11th. I arrived at Plymouth, and rode by post to London, where I came safe to my uncle's house, 5th of 11th, and was received and entertained during my stay in London with much love and courtesy. The first sabbath, I heard, and communicated at the Lord's table with, Dr. John Owen,[2] and, during my continuance there, found very much love and respect from him, as also from Mr. John Collins.[3] I tarried in London four sabbaths after the 10th of May; whereafter, according to act of Parliament, none were to meet for any religious worship, unless according to that

[1] John Alden, son of the "Pilgrim" John, of Plymouth, "went from Duxbury to Boston as early as 1659, and died 14th March, 1702" (Farmer).

[2] The famous Nonconformist divine. He died Aug. 24, 1683. Strenuous efforts were made to induce him to come to New England, and take charge of the church at Boston, of which Mr. Norton had been pastor. Aug. 8, 1665. "Our church sent to Dr. Owen." June 9, 1666. "Came in Mr. Clark's ship; brought us word of Dr. John Owen's likely coming hither" (Public Diary of *Hull*).

[3] A graduate of Harvard. He went to England in the time of the civil war. He was chaplain in Gen. Monk's army when he marched from Scotland to England. He was a zealous Presbyterian, and minister of a church in London and at Pinner's Hall. "Mighty in the Scriptures, of an excellent natural temper, very charitable to all good men, and died, universally lamented, Dec. 8, 1687" (Neal).

which was in the liturgy of England. If there were above five persons of sixteen years old, it was condemned as an unlawful conventicle, and great penalties to be inflicted, — twenty pounds for the preacher, twenty pounds for the house-owner, five shillings every hearer for the first offence, and all these doubled after the first time; yet it pleased God the ministers preached, and the people heard, and no great molestation. With much sea-sickness in the voyage, and sudden and speedy great journey from Plymouth to London, I was ill at London; but it pleased God to return my health gradually and quickly.

1670, 8th of 4th, I came away from London. My uncle accompanied me to Gravesend. 10th of 4th, in the evening, we were at the Downs. 11th, at six o'clock, afternoon, sailed thence with a fair wind till we were gone one hundred leagues west of the Lizard; and, upon the 9th of July, met a Virginia ship going for Bristol, by whom we wrote to London. 10th of 5th, with two Flushingers, men-of-war; but they offered us no injury. 3d of 6th, I came safe home, and found my wife, daughter, servants, and all in health and safety. The good Lord make me thankful, humble, and fruitful!

The summer had been very dry in our colony.

1671, I was chosen by the town of Westfield for their deputy for the General Court. I was also chosen by the Artillery Company for their captain. The Lord make me diligent and humble!

The Lord brought all the vessels I was concerned in this year in safety. But, upon 23d of 9th, John Harris, with his ketch, being gone out to sea, and about seven leagues eastward of Cape Cod, came back again, anchored by Cape Cod, but could not reach the harbor, and was put on shore on the Gurnet Beach about four o'clock in the morning.

The men kept their vessel till day, and came all safe on shore, and saved much of the goods; but the vessel not to be got off. One-half of the vessel and cargo was mine. The Lord give me spiritual and heavenly treasure, when he taketh from me earthly! and that will be a good exchange.

1672, I was chosen again by the said town of Westfield to be their deputy at the General Court this year.

19th of 5th. God spared my warehouse, and what I had in it, being exceeding hot with the fire; and none durst adventure to cool it with water, because of the powder that was in it (of the country's most, some also of the town's, and my own), until we had cut through the roof, and taken out the powder. It was when Mr. Hill, Mr. Walley's houses, &c., were burned.

17th of 6th. This summer I buried a servant-man, John Negus; otherwise, my family hath been in good health ever since the year 1657.

This winter, the ships that went home to London were many of them taken by the Dutch capers. I lost, in Master Hilton, Master Jonas Clark, and Thomas Moore, six hundred and forty pounds. God mixeth his mercies and chastisements, that we may neither be tempted to faint or to despise. The other ships, Master Greenough and Master Smith, that were of the greatest importance to the public, and also to my own private concern, were mercifully kept from all danger. Also I lost my ketch, three-fourths, with her lading, from Virginia, taken by the Dutch from John Alden, worth about two hundred pounds.

1673. I was again this year chosen and entreated by the town of Westfield to serve as their deputy at the General Court.

The Lord brought in Master Smith, Master Greenough, and Master Prout, safe; though many vessels were taken by the Dutch this year also.

We had good health in our family all this year. Blessed be the Lord!

December. ———[1] Cook [2] died; and I was appointed by the Court to succeed him.

November, I accepted Samuel Clark, son of Jonas Clark, as an apprentice for eight years.

1675, June 25, I was appointed by the Council to be one of the Committee for the war, and also Treasurer for the war.

Feb. 28, being Monday, Mr. Broadstreet married my daughter Hannah to Samuel Sewall, in the evening.

2d, 2d, being Monday, at ten o'clock at night, my grandchild, John Sewall, was safely born into the world.[3]

1676, 15th of 3d. I was chosen by the General Court to be the Country Treasurer.

1677, 2, 2. John Sewall was born Monday, at ten o'clock at night.

1677, 23d of 3d. I was chosen by the country to be the Treasurer.

1678, 8th of 3d. I was chosen again by the country to be their Treasurer.

June 4, on the third day of the week, in the morning, half an hour before six o'clock, Samuel Sewall was safely born.

[1] Illegible in MS.

[2] Mr. Hull was appointed to succeed Lieut. Richard Cooke, as lieutenant to Capt. Wm. Hudson. Mr. Cooke died in December, 1673. He was a tailor in Boston, was admitted to the fellowship of the First Church in that town in 1634, and took the freeman's oath in 1635. He held several offices, both military and civil; represented the town of Dover in 1670 in the General Court. He was father and grandfather to the two celebrated Elisha Cookes, of Boston. In his will, he left a legacy to Harvard College.

[3] This entry occurs again in its place.

Sept. 10, John Sewall had a vomiting, continuing that day and the night following, and then taken with convulsion fits, — about seventeen sore fits. He died about twelve o'clock, before the 12th of September.

Sept. 23, Seth Shove [1] began to complain of illness in his head.

Sept. 25, John Alcock was taken sick of the small-pox. The tenth night he was light-headed, and was brought very low.

Oct. 12, Elizabeth Alcock [2] taken sick of the small-pox. She had but few, and went about again in about ten days.

Oct. 21, Samuel Clark [3] taken with small-pox. The eighth day began to be light-headed, and needed two or three to hold him in bed.

Oct. 26, Timothy Dwight taken with the same disease.

Oct. 27, Hannah Estwick also.

Oct. 29, son Sewall taken sick of the same disease.

Nov. 5, John Newman went to Roger Ind.

Nov. 20, Seth Shove taken sick of the small-pox.

James Elson was taken by the Algerines, where I lost only my eighth part of the ship; as see my ledger, C, fol. 54, £113. 17*s.* 10*d.*, though it might be worth more, £82. 2*s.* 2*d.*

1679, May 18, I was also again chosen by the country to be their Treasurer.

1680, May 18, I was also chosen by the country for an Assistant, and released my former service of Treasurer. The good Lord grant me prudence, wisdom, judgment, courage, &c.!

[1] This Seth Shove was son of Rev. George Shove, of Taunton. He graduated at Harvard College; was ordained 13th October, 1697; and settled at Danbury, Conn. He died on the 3d of December, 1735, aged about sixty-eight.

[2] John and Elizabeth Alcock were orphan children of Dr. John Alcock, of Roxbury.

[3] Samuel Clark was son of Jonas Clark, of Boston.

1679, April 11, received news that the pink "Charles" was cast away at Christophers, 31st of 11th last. Eleazar Davenport, the master of her, died Oct. 8. Samuel Davenport next died, Dec. 6. Robert Thorn brought her into Christophers, Dec. 15. One-fourth part of the pink and cargo the Lord saw meet to take away from me. Also the ketch "Seaflower," John Harris, master, went for Jamaica; and we have had no news of her. One-fourth part of her was also mine.

Feb. 2, Hannah Sewall was safely born into the world, being the third day of the week, about midnight.

11th of 3d, '81. I was chosen again to be an Assistant.

Elizabeth Sewall was safely born into the world, Dec. 29, 1681, a little after four o'clock in the afternoon.

'82, 24th of 3d. I was chosen again to be an Assistant.

JOHN HULL'S DIARY

OF

PUBLIC OCCURRENCES.

SOME

OBSERVABLE PASSAGES OF PROVIDENCE

TOWARD THE COUNTRY,

AND SPECIALLY IN THESE PARTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY; NOTED FOR THE HELP OF MY OWN MEMORY, WHEREIN, IF ANY THING SHOULD NOT BE SO EXACTLY PENNED, FOR METHOD OR TIME, LET IT BE IMPUTED TO THE IGNORANCE AND WEAKNESS OF THE PENMAN, IF IT SHOULD EVER COME TO THE SIGHT OF ANY OTHER.

THE state of England, our dear native country, being by the usurpation of the bishops under great declinings, both civil and chiefly ecclesiastical; God's faithful ministers silenced, sentenced also to imprisonment and banishment, if they would not conform to read the king's and bishops' edicts granting liberty for profanation of the Lord's day, &c.; and also imposing upon the ministry many Popish injunctions, which proved a snare unto some honest minds, and a burden unsupportable to many others, both ministers and people, whose hearts God stirred up rather to endure a voluntary exile from their native soil, and to hazard the loss of all their sweet outward comforts and relations, than to defile their consciences and insnare themselves by hold- 1628.
ing their rich revenues: God therefore moved the hearts of many to transport themselves far off beyond the seas, into this our New England, and brought, year after year, such as might

be fit materials for a Commonwealth in all respects, and among others some of choicest use both for ministry and magistracy, military men, seamen, tradesmen, &c., and of large estates and free spirits, to spend and be spent for the advancement of this work that the Lord had to perform, and to make this wilderness as Babylon was once to Israel, as a wine-cellar for Christ to refresh his spouse in. He also made this Babylon like a Jerusalem; and our native England, seeing so many persons, which were no babes nor windy-headed men, to forsake all to embrace such a wilderness condition, it caused them to listen what might be the reason. And it so pleased God, by their voluntary banishment and their writings from home, to awaken so many hearts, as that in few years the whole nation thought it was high time to think of a general reformation, and were willing to enter into a war (though such a formidable means yet) when no other way could gain the desired end.

When hither the Lord had brought any considerable number, they gathered into several churches, according to gospel rules, having pastor, teacher, ruling elders, and deacons, to every church, or as many of these as their supplies would admit of.

Also the civil government framed so as none might bear any weighty office, civil or military, but such as were members of some particular church, gathered and in order; neither might any elect unto such choice employment but members of churches, who had also sworn fealty to the Commonwealth. The churches and civil state thus mutually embracing and succoring each other, the Lord hath been pleased to bless with great prosperity and success, increasing and multiplying, protecting and defending from all mischievous contrivances, supplying and furnishing with all necessaries, maugre all adversaries; though also chastening

and trying, nurturing, lopping, and pruning his poor children, by his own fatherly hand, for their good, from one year to another.

A brief hint of some of God's dispensations, as he enables, we may mention in the following discourse: —

1634. The churches gathered were many, but yet were upon the increasing hand, though under reproach and derision among profane persons, upon some of which the Lord gave signal testimonies, though others he suffered according to his wonted long patience.

Remarkable judgments upon the churches' enemies.

There was one Henry Bull and his company in a vessel, or small ship, that did deride the churches of Christ, in our harbor; and when they came to Marblehead, a place not far distant, but out of command of our fortifications, they, in derision, acted the gathering of a church and calling officers. But, as the apostle saith, "Be not deceived: God is not mocked." They putting to sea, they were forced by tempest upon the shore among the more savage Indians, by whom they were slain.

Another ship riding in the harbor, whose seamen were very profane in deriding the country, who said they would cast their provisions into the sea rather than supply such Roundheads, it pleased the Lord to leave them to take so little care of themselves, as, whether in their drink or by other accident, I know not, they blew up their ship with their own gunpowder. The ship was called the "Marie Rose." So was also another vessel, that behaved themselves much after the same manner.

1634, September. A great wind hurricane, first at north-east, then at north-west: by reason thereof, two tides in six hours. The Indian corn much blown down and spoiled therewith.

1637. The great goodness of God was also seen in saving

his people from the old stratagem of Satan, with which he vexes the church, and sought now to crush it in the bud; and that was by sowing the seeds of error in the hearts of some that was of very good esteem, and who before had been fellow-laborers to help forward the work of God in private, as others the faithful ministers did in public. But, when this evil seed sprang up, they began secretly to undermine the pure doctrine of the gospel delivered in public, and to put their senses and meanings to be the meaning of their ministers; making their weak brethren and sisters, and also judicious and godly persons in neighbor towns, to begin to think amiss of the holy and reverend Mr. John Cotton, then teacher of Boston church. But, when their errors came to be broached, he fully cleared himself and his doctrine from any taste of their poisonous and unwholesome liquor, and so bore witness to the truths then under labor, and against their corrupt tenets, that, through the favor of God, settled his own church and discovered the errorists; and, being found persisters in dangerous and fundamental errors, they were sent out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and purchased themselves a place called Rhode Island. Yet, after they were so far removed (viz., about seventy miles), the Rev. Mr. Cotton, and the church of Boston, ceased not for some years to send letters, and some of their able and godly brethren, to endeavor their reducement; and some few were regained. These errorists had so painted over with fair colors their tenets, that they bred much disputation in all sorts, that the elders of the several churches saw a need of a synodical meeting to discuss and clear matters; which was consented to, and held at Cambridge, and, by the good blessing of God, truth gained, and error lost. Many truths were then more fully understood by elders and private Christians: the hearts of both were after

Errors broached, and yet soon dispelled.

Heretics banished.

more firmly united. The errors broached were very many; but I shall not write them, nor mention the persons.

The Lord also tried the faith and courage of his people, so lately come into this wilderness, with permitting some of the Indians to commit some villanies and outrage against the English in the Colony of Connecticut: a savage people, called Pequots, who were more warlike than other Indians, and therefore a terror to their enemies the other Indians. These Pequots took two or three English maidens; but them they hurt not. But, they having taken some English men, they tied them to trees, making great fires by them, roasting them alive, and cutting off their flesh and broiling of it, and clapping it to the place again; also throwing hot coals upon the raw and mangled places; and the poor distressed souls crying, in this time of trouble, to God to help them for his Christ's sake. The Pequots would dance about them, and insult, "Where is your God and Christ's help now?" &c. The English, after they had sought in vain to have these murderers delivered up, they sent out some forces, about ——— men from the Massachusetts, under the command of Capt. Underhill, and about ——— from Connecticut, under the command of ———,[1] into whose hand the Lord delivered these insulting wretches, that though our English forces were so few in number, yet by God's assistance they rooted out the nation of the Pequots, save a few that escaped, who still own themselves as vassals to the English. It was credibly reported that these Indians had gotten such a power from Satan, by God's permission, that an arrow should not pierce their skin; but the Lord per-

Indian savage cruelties.

War with the Indians.

[1] These blanks are in the MS. Capt. Underhill was sent to Saybrook by Gov. Vane, with twenty men, in advance of the Massachusetts forces, which, under several leaders, consisted of about one hundred and twenty men; the number being variously stated by different writers. Connecticut furnished ninety men, under the command of Capt. John Mason.

mitted not Satan to hinder the penetration of the swords and bullets of the English.

1638. The 1st of the 4th month, about noon, was a very great and general earthquake. The vessels upon the river, and the goods that were in the said ships, moved much. Many upon the land could scarcely stand upright.

Sept. 14. Mr. John Harvard departed this life, the founder of Harvard College. He gave above £700 towards the same.

1639. We began to print at Cambridge.[1]

1642. A public library given to Harvard College.

1643. The four colonies entered into a combination to assist and strengthen the hands of each other.

1646. April 11, died Mr. John Oliver, one of choice parts, endued with variety of able gifts for the generation; but God took him away in youth, to the saddening of very many godly hearts and threatening of the rising generation.

A second synod at Cambridge, where was debated the power of the magistrate in matters of religion; 2d, the nature and power of synods.

Also some began to preach to the Indians in their own language, especially Mr. John Eliot.

1647, 5th of 7th. Mr. Thomas Hooker died, pastor of Hartford church.

1648. A third synod at Cambridge, who drew the platform of church discipline.

Jan. 30. Great Charles the First was beheaded upon Tuesday, about two o'clock, — a very solemn and strange act; and God alone can work good by so great a change, both to the nation and to the posterity of the king.

[1] Stephen Daye, having, by the direction of the magistrates and elders, erected the press, and prepared the other parts of the apparatus, began business in the first month of 1639. (Winthrop.)

March 26, '48–9. Our honored Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, departed this life, — a man of great humility and piety, an excellent statesman, well skilled in the law, and of a public spirit.

Sept. 3 ('50). A great victory over the Scots at Dunbar.

24th, 6th, 1649. Mr. Thomas Shepherd, pastor of Cambridge church, died, — a zealous and pious preacher.

Jan. 1, 1650. Charles the Second was crowned king in Scotland.

22d July ('51). Mr. Christopher Love[1] beheaded.

22d August. Charles the Second erected his standard at Worcester.

Sept. 3 ('51). A victory obtained over the Scots army at Worcester.

20th of 2d, 1653. The parliament was dissolved by the army. 4th of 4th, a parliament chosen by General Cromwell.

23d December, 1652. The reverend teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, viz., Mr. John Cotton, departed this life, after he had kept his house, by reason of weakness, about five weeks;[2] a man so exceedingly useful and eminent, that the loss seems unparalleled with respect to the living, and no less gain to the dead. Yet God was pleased, in his infinite mercy, to make a gracious and rich supply to this poor church, by sending, 6th, 1st, 1652–3, Mr. John Norton, from Ipswich, who continued with us three years and upward, — 1656, July 23; laboring in God's work, and joined in a teacherly office with us.

[1] Rector of St. Ann's, Aldersgate, London, and St. Lawrence, Jewry, author of three volumes of sermons. He was accused of corresponding with the king against Cromwell's government. Several parishes and fifty-four ministers interceded in vain in his behalf.

[2] In the margin is the note, "A strange comet in the heavens began its motion with his sickness, and ended with his death."

1652. In 12th month, there came intelligence of a plot between the Dutch and the Indians to cut off all the English; and great probability there was of the truth of it, though not full proof. The Commissioners for the Colonies met at Boston, and sat debating and examining the case some space of time; and also many other grievances were presented by the western colonies, which they had received from the Dutch; and a war urged, and almost consented unto. But as something that might further clear the righteousness of the war, or prevent it, there was two commissioners sent to the Monhatos, — viz., Capt. John Leveret and Mr. William Davis, — whose return tended to encourage to war. But God's overruling and guiding hand prevented it; and the consultation brake up, though not without great discontent to sundry, and such as tended to disunite the colonies of the west from the Bay. Generally, the elders of churches, and most of the magistrates in the Bay, was against the war.

Plot of Indians and Dutch.

1653, 14th, 1st. A great fire in Boston.

31st, 5th. Mr. Thomas Dudley[1] died.

About Oct. 30, 1653, sundry ships went to England; among whom, two were taken by the Dutch; and several in Boston lost much of their estate, and some others also, both in England and other parts of this country.

In the spring, about 1st of 3d, 1654, came intelligence from England of four ships, with a hundred and twenty soldiers, under the command of Major Robert Sedgwicke[2] and

[1] Governor of Massachusetts.

[2] Admitted freeman 1637. He resided in Charlestown, and was chosen captain the same year. Johnson says he was "nurst up in London's artillery garden, and furthered with fifteen years' experience in New England." He assisted in forming "the military of Massachusetts" (afterwards known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company) in 1639; was ordered "to take care of the castle this year," in 1641. He was several years a deputy from Charlestown, and much engaged in public affairs. In 1645, he united with Emanuel Downing and others in a petition

Capt. John Leveret,[1] who had received commission to root out the Dutch, if they would not submit to the power and government of England.

They arrived here (after a long voyage of twelve weeks, and their admiral-ship and soldiers, in regard of leakiness and some other miscarriages, was sent back again) the 5th of 4th, 1654. And suddenly a General Court was called, and letters from the Lord Protector (Oliver Cromwell) perused, and the commission of those gentlemen viewed, and their desires debated upon; which was granted thus far, viz., a liberty to gain and entertain five hundred volunteers, but not liberty to press. But, before they had obtained much above one hundred men, Master Garret came in with a ship from England, and brought news of a peace concluded and proclaimed between England and Holland; which did cause that intended expedition to be wholly laid aside. But, after some few days' stay of these ships, they adventured upon another design, for the French; and, about the 15th of September, returned to Boston again, with prosperous success, having outed the French in three several forts, — one called St. John's Fort; another, Port Riall; a third, Panobscot; — and took the wealth

1654.

Remarkable providence to prevent war.

1645.

French forts taken.

for the amelioration of the laws against the Anabaptists, but without success. In "Good News from New England," the author says, —

> "Prest to oppose haters of peace, with guide
> Of officers, three regiments abide.
> In Middlesex, seven ensigns are displayed,
> There disciplined by Major Sedgwick's aid."

Peace having been concluded, the expedition against the Dutch, at New York, was abandoned; but Sedgwick, being advanced to the rank of major-general, was employed by Cromwell in the expedition against the West Indies, "succeeded Gen. Fortescue as Governor of Jamaica, and died 24th June, 1656." He appeared to Carlyle "a very brave, zealous, and pious man;" and his letters in Thurloe, "of all others the best worth reading" on the subject of this expedition. He was the ancestor of the Sedgwick family of Massachusetts. (Lord's Lempriere; Carlyle's Cromwell, ii. 192, 198; Colony Records.)

[1] Afterwards Governor of Massachusetts.

of these places, consisting in beaver and moose and other furs, and plate, &c. These aforesaid ships, by the 14th of November, was freighted with masts and merchandise goods and passengers, and upon putting to [sea?] sail for England.

In this interim, between September and November, there was an expedition against Nenegret, an Indian sagamore, where were sent from the Colony of Massachusetts fifty horsemen, with their horses and arms, up to Pequot, to meet with as many footmen from the southern colonies, with commission to make sundry demands to Nenegret; and, upon none satisfaction, power given to send to each colony respectively for a further supply of horse and foot. But upon some little satisfaction received, by way of promise of future obedience to the English, they returned home again; and all acts of hostility ceased for that year.

An expedition against the Indians.

Not to let wholly slip some chastisements of God unto the Commonwealth in general, and more particularly unto this town of Boston, one of our honored magistrates, Mr. William Hibbins,[1] — a man very serviceable in his place, — was taken away by death, upon the 23d of the 5th month, in this year, 1654, about twelve o'clock in the night before the sabbath, who for his years, though they were ———, yet, if God had seen meet, he might have continued to do much more service.

Death of Wm. Hibbins.

Another such like providence befell us this year, upon the 9th of December, at two o'clock in the morning, — the death of Major-Gen. Edward Gibons; a man of an excellent spirit for the public good, and the crown of the military affairs in this Commonwealth. Yet God saw

Death of Maj.-Gen. Gibons.

[1] A merchant, elected an Assistant in 1643, and much employed in public affairs. He was associated with the Governor and Mr. Dudley as a Committee "to consider of the body of liberties, what is fit to be repealed or allowed," in 1644; and the same year, with Mr. Dudley, to draw up instructions for the agents in England.

it meet to bereave us of such eminent pillars. His age was fifty-five, or thereabout.

About the 16th of December, the frost was extreme, and suddenly froze the Bay over, that, in very few days, it was firm to pass betwixt the town and Long Island, and a constant passage to Charltowne and Noddle's Island, &c.; and so continued above a month. The other part of the winter was such weather as is usual; only the month April was cold.

Great frost.

It rained the 8th and 11th of April.

The Commonwealth of England sent forth thirty-seven sail of ships, under the command of Gen. Penn, for the West Indies; and by the way, at Barbados, they seized on sixteen ships as prize from the Dutch. From thence they sailed, and arrived at Hispaniola the 13th of April. They landed the greatest part of their army eight leagues to leeward of Domingo. Some engagement they had with the enemy; but the army being straitened of provision, and meeting with some other discouragements, they left Hispaniola, and sailed to Jamaica, which they easily took; and about the 25th of 4th month, 1655, they sent three ships for provisions to New England (and left twelve of the best ships at Jamaica, and the rest returned back for England); which ships here safely arrived, and were supplied fully with what they came for, and returned laden to Jamaica. Arrived all there safe, where they found the land-soldiers, through fluxes and surfeits, a great part of them dead; and, from their first coming into those parts, by the 3d of April following, there was wanting in the lists six thousand, and supposed most of them to be dead.

An expedition to the West Indies.

1655

Feb. and March, 1654-5.

1655.

Jamaica.

1, 9, Mr. Inc. Nowell died.

1656, Nov. 14. We received intelligence from the Manhatoes that the Indians had made an inroad upon the Dutch, and burnt their farms, slain and taken cap-

Indians massacre the Dutch.

tives one hundred and fifty persons, and, had it not been for the help of some English, were likely to have taken the fort. Most of the captives were in a short time redeemed: others they kept, and carried it unto the Dutch with great insolency.

1655. In the beginning of September, two ships set sail for London: Master James Garret master of one, called the "Hopewell;" and Master Lock of the other, called the "Globe."

In the beginning of December, Capt. John Leveret set sail for London, in a little frigate built at New France, and there taken by the English with the forts.

About the middle of December, Master John Cutting with his ship, and Master Christopher Clark with another ship, set sail from Boston for England, and arrived safe there in about a month's time.

March 14, 1655–6. Twenty persons, or about such a number, did agree to raise a stock to procure a house and materials to improve the children and youth of the town of Boston (which want employment) in several manufactures.

Seducers called Quakers. This summer, two women,[1] called Quakers, came from the Barbados, intending to oppose the ministry, and also to breed in people contempt of magistracy, but were cut short of their intents, being kept in prison until opportunity were of sending them whence they came; which was done. They were persons uncivil in behavior, showing no respect to any, ready to censure and condemn all; themselves would be thought the only knowing persons, and their spirit infallible; carrying a semblance of humility, but exceeding proud. Likewise, soon after they were gone, came eight, of the same judgment and con-

August.

[1] Mary Fisher and Ann Austin.

ditions, from England (viz., four men, and four women or maids), and for the same ends: found the same entertainment. They were brought over by one Robert Lock, a ship-master, who was compelled to retransport them for England.

The 26th of the 1st month, 1656, Capt. Robert Keyn[1] died. He was a man of good understanding and learning, both in divine, civil, and military arts and knowledge. He gave to the town a considerable sum, in his will, towards a town-house and conduit.

Capt. Keyn's death.

Oct. 24. Three ships set sail for England. The names of their commanders were Master James Garret, Master Jonas Clarke, Master Robert Lock. They carried the sum of the returns of the country this year unto England, as is usual every year, we yet having our clothing (most of it) from thence; and, in the 9th of 3d month, we heard they all safely were arrived, in little more than a month after they went hence.

1656. This winter was very little cold weather, — not above seven very cold days until the 2d of the 12th month; nor scarce any snow at all until the 5th of the said month, whereon there fell a pretty deep snow. And it continued cold weather all the said 12th month, and the 1st of the 1st month very cold; but, after that, the weather grew very moderate again, and the spring came on forwardly.

Temperate winter.

There was (also) a great breach of love and union in the church of Hartford the last summer, which continued to the end of this winter (now past), notwithstanding all endeavors there, and also by letters from hence, to have gained a reconcilement.

Divisions in Hartford.

[1] Keayne. He was a merchant, and was fined by the Court for selling at too great a profit, the offence being aggravated on account of his religious profession. His will, recorded in the Suffolk Probate Office, occupied one hundred and fifty-eight pages. (Savage's Winthrop.)

1657. The 6th day of the 2d month, Mr. John Norton, and several other elders and messengers of churches, took their journey from hence toward Hartford, in Connecticut, to endeavor (if the Lord please to bless) a reconciliation, and renewal of the bond of love and unity amongst them, in those parts; for their breach hath been the occasion of much division in sundry churches in those parts.

The 16th day of this 2d month, our church of Boston sought the face of the Lord in solemn humiliation in their behalf.

23d of 2d. We received letters from Hartford, and understood that the work of reconciliation went very slowly forward. We also heard, that at a town called Farmington, near Hartford, an Indian was so bold as to kill an English-woman great with child, and likewise her maid, and also sorely wounded a little child, — all within their house, — and then fired the house, which also fired some other barns or houses. The Indians, being apprehended, delivered up the murderer, who was brought to Hartford, and (after he had his right hand cut off) was, with an axe, knocked on the head by the executioner.

A villanous act.

The Lord teach us what such sad providences speak unto us all!

9th, 3d. Mr. William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, died.

6th of the 3d. Mr. Norton returned in safety home, and brought us word that the Lord hath graciously wrought the church at Hartford to a re-union, and a mutual promise to bury all former differences in silence for the future.

1657. In the month of June, three ships arrived here from London, bringing supplies of clothing into the country; for, as yet, our chief supply, in respect of clothes, is from England.

Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New Haven, died.[1]

Nov. 13. Two ships set sail from hence, being bound for London; and two went this summer, about August; by which four (though one of them went not directly hence), the sum of the returns of the country for this year was transported.

This summer, in the months of September and October, the town of Boston — viz., the children specially — was much afflicted with a flux and vomiting, whereof many young children died. And likewise the disease of the measles went through the town: scarce any house escaped; only through the goodness of God, scarce any died of it. The like soon after befell most of the towns hereabouts.

Diseases.

I may not omit the observance of a very strange hand of God, that hath, for some space of time, (continued upon two women in this town of Boston:) about ten years already upon one of them, by name Joan Edwards, a joiner's wife; and about three years upon another, by name Mary Hacker, a poor laboring man's wife. Who, at the first, were taken with a kind of raving and madness, but continue making a doleful noise, taking no care of or content or pleasure in any thing; can be made to follow no employment; sometimes will hardly receive any food; take notice of nothing that is spoken to them, nor minding their children or any relations; showing much dislike to any that counsel them to hear the word or to labor, as if they looked at all to aggravate their condemnation, especially Joan Edwards, who, at first, was often visited by godly ministers and Christians: the Lord hereby manifesting his sovereignty, who may do what he please with his creatures; and also daily preaching, by such spectacles (who seem to be a lively representation of the damned), matter of serious admo-

An observable hand of Providence.

Joan Edwards and Mary Hacker.

[1] Jan. 7, aged sixty-seven. (See next page.)

nition and thankfulness unto all who enjoy their wits and senses, and specially the gospel of grace. Men know not the human cause. Some think, and not unlike, they were left to some notorious sin, but could not confess it; others think Satan took advantage of a spirit of discontent with their own condition, as being poor and conflicting with sundry wants. The Lord teach all his people that see and hear of them to make a profitable improvement of such remarkable strokes!

Boldness of seducers.

1657. This summer, also, the fore-mentioned Quakers, that were sent back to England, notwithstanding they knew the severity of the law against any such seducers, yet they boldly adventured to enter into these parts again, coming from England to Rhode Island, and thence hither; and therefore were severely whipped in the House of Correction, and kept close to work for their food, or else to fast. Some of them fasted several days, before they would work; but, after the belly craved so earnestly, they were glad to work.

They seemed to suffer patiently, and take a kind of pleasure in it. In those parts of the country where they might with freedom converse (as in Rhode Island and Providence and Warwick), they take no pleasure to be. It seems to be to them as the dry places ——— to the unclean spirit.

Mr. Oliver's death.

The 1st of the 11th month, Mr. Thomas Oliver, one of the ruling elders of this church, died, being ninety years old, — a man by his outward profession a chirurgeon. He kept his house, or went very little abroad, for the space of three years before he died, and was a lively pattern of old age spoken of Eccles. xii.; though, in his former years, a man very serviceable.

Mr. Eaton's death.

The 7th of this 11th month, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New-Haven Colony, died, — a man of singular wisdom, and of eminent use unto all those parts, and

well beloved and respected in the whole country. Thus the Lord seeth meet to make us thin and weak, by taking away our studs; and oh that it were indeed laid to heart!

1657. At Dedham there was a house firing. A woman and her son and daughter burned to death: the woman, in endeavoring to save her son; the daughter, in going to help both. One Goodman Wheeler's wife. A sad providence.

The breach at Hartford again renewed; God leaving Mr. Stone, their officer, to some indiscretion, as to neglect the church's desire in the celebration of the Lord's supper, and to proceed to some acts of discipline towards the formerly dissenting brethren; and Satan taking occasion also by Mr. Stone's absence some weeks from them, and neglecting of the use of all means to cherish and to look unto their newly set bones and joints, they easily brake again. The dissenting brethren removed from the church. Contention of brethren continues.

This winter was very temperate. The month of November was pretty cool, and the beginning of the 12th month: else very moderate weather, and very little snow. By the 10th of the 1st month, the frost was generally out of the ground; and only in the latter end of February, and in the 1st month, there was two or three times much thunder and rain. Temperate winter.

In the latter end of March, and in the month of April, very much wet weather, that husbandmen doubted opportunity of sowing their corn, and so continued till the latter end of April.

Upon the 13th of April, there came a storm of snow, about two inches deep, and, the night following, a hard frost. In the latter end of this month, the skies cleared, and warm weather and dry, that it proved suddenly a very forward spring and comfortable seed-time. Snow, 13th of 2d, 1658.

In the latter end of 3d month, much hurt came, by the caterpillars, to the fruit-trees.

Signs in the heaven. 18th of 3d month. There was a comet seen to pass from the fort toward the market-place or the dock, about half an hour before sunset. It was seen at Brantrey and other towns, passing from the south-east to the north-east.

Very much lightning about Hampton town.

4th month. We heard, by two ships that came in from England, that Master James Garret's ship was not arrived, and looked as foundered in the sea, and so persons and estates lost. There was sundry persons of pretty note: Mr. Mejo (Mayhew), a godly minister, that taught the Indians at Martha's Vineyard;[1] and sundry young students, and some very hopeful; sundry women also, two of which were sisters in our own church. The passengers were, in all, ———. Of estate, there ———.

One of the ketches, likewise, that went hence for England, was taken by a pirate of Ostend, and therein much estate lost.

Month 6th. In harvest, the beginning was fair and comfortable, so that the corn that was early ripe was well inned; but then came much wet and cloudy weather, and very difficult inning the rest of the corn and hay, and much spoiled. Also much sickness in the southern colonies, — fevers and agues, of which many died. And, in our own town, the fever seated upon sundry. Mr. William Paddy,[2] a very pious and public-spirited man, died of it, among others, the 24th of the 6th month.

Public chastisements.

Mr. Paddy's death.

8th of September. Our town, and Cambridge, and sundry

[1] This was Thomas Mayhew, the contemporary of Eliot, and perhaps a little in advance of him as an *apostle* to the Indians. He was on his way to England, with some of his converts, to procure the means of more extensive efforts.

[2] See Hull's private Diary.

towns in the southern parts, celebrated with fasting and prayer; but, notwithstanding, the Lord saw meet to continue our sick in weakness, and to smite others, and not to clear up the face of the skies save for two or three days together. Other towns about us did the like. The Lord, who was wont to hear before we called, when we did but purpose to seek God, but now as if he should even say we had waxed worse by his mercies, and he would deliver and hear us no more. 7th month, a fast.

The Commissioners of the Colonies sat in this month, at Boston.

Two ships set sail for England, after they had waited six or eight days at Nantasket for a wind; and, as some observed, when one Mr. ——— Newton, who was intended for England in one of them, was sent unto by the Commissioners and Mr. Norton to desire a conference before he went, the wind was observed to turn fair for the ships as soon as the said letter was written. And, as soon as the messengers came down, the master and some others were very free to the gentleman's return up again, as thinking his presence some cause of the cross-wind. He was an officer of the church at Farmington, in Connecticut.[1] Ships sail for England.

Oct. 17. Mr. John Norton, by some sickness of body, could not come forth, though it was a day whereon the Lord's supper was celebrated: but it pleased God Mr. ——— Newton preached in his room; and, Oct. 31, Mr. Norton came forth, and preached in the afternoon.

Nov. 17. Mr. William Hubert[2] was ordained a teacher to the church at Ipswich, where he was brought up under Mr. John Norton, the Lord thereby making a complete supply to that church; before he supplied the death of New ministers.

[1] Roger Newton, minister of Farmington, was ordained Oct. 13, 1652. He was afterward of Milford, and died June 7, 1683.

[2] Hubbard.

Mr. Rogers by Mr. Cobbitt in the pastoral office; and now the other; and also added two ruling elders, which they never had before, to make up their want of Mr. Norton, of whom the church at Boston stood in so much need. The Lord of the harvest will not let any lose by the help they spare to him.

Last ship, 29th Decemb.

29th December. The last ship that carried the returns of the country this year, with some few passengers, sailed hence 29th of 10th, in the evening of that day. We had much cold weather for three weeks before, but very little snow; yet the river not quite frozen over. The cold continued sharp until about the middle of the 11th month; then we had fine, warm, and pleasant weather till the midst of 12th month; after that, we had wet, stormy weather, both snow and rain, until the 1st month; then fine, moderate weather, only the frost not fully out of the ground till about 10th of 2d month. It was a pretty cold spring.

Vessels burnt at sea.

1st of 11th. There was a small vessel burnt in Salem harbor's mouth. They went from Boston a little before night, on the last day of that week; and in the night, when they were come into the harbor, they touched on a rock. The candles, as was supposed, fell down in the cabin, a cask of brandy being in the cabin: when that took fire, it left all remediless.

Another vessel before that, about October, was burnt at sea, as she came from Pascataway; but no men lost in neither.

Sad news.

1658, 25th of 12th. We received the sad news of the death of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, a man of excellent worth, who died Sept. 3, 1658. The Lord give suitable affections to bewail the loss of such choice ones! He was one that sought the good of New England; though

he seemed to be much wanting in a thorough testimony against the blasphemers of our days.[1]*

Mr. Peter Bulkley's death.

9th of 1st. Old Mr. Bulkley, of the church of Concord, departed this life, being about the age of ———.[2]

Great fire in Barbados.

10th of 1st, 1658–9. We received intelligence of the great fire in Barbados, which was 2d of 12th last, wherein about two hundred dwelling-houses and storehouses were consumed, and great estates together with them. Sundry in New England had a share in that loss.

Mr. Sheaff's death.

22d of 1st month. Mr. Jacob Sheaff[3] departed this life, — a righteous and a merciful man. The deaths of such ought to be laid unto heart. He was about the age of forty years, and one of the seven selectmen for the town of Boston.

13th of 2d month. Mr. Thomas Shepherd[4] was ordained a teacher of the church at Charlestown, — a very hopeful and choice young man, inheriting a double portion of his father's spirit. It is no little comfort, in all the bereaving changes that the Lord exerciseth us with, that he yet raiseth us up of our sons to be prophets, and any of our young men to be as Nazarites.

The spring was very wet; yet it pleased God to give a seed-time.

1659. Mr. Henry Dunster died.[5]

4th of 3d month. Mr. Seaborn Cotton[6] was ordained pas-

[1] He could not understand what the magistrate had to do in matters of religion. He thought that all men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interfere without insnaring himself in the guilt of persecution; and these were the Protector's "own words." (Miall.)

* These words, from *though*, were added at a later date.

[2] Rev. Peter Bulkley, æt. seventy-six.

[3] Ancestor of the New-Hampshire family of Sheaffe.

[4] Son of Thomas Shephard, minister of Cambridge.

[5] President of Harvard College. He died Feb. 27.

[6] Son of the Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, and *born* at *sea*, on the passage of his parents to New England in 1633.

tor to the church at Hampton. The good Lord give him a double portion of his father's spirit!

Sept. 10. About this time, one ship set sail for England, carrying much of the country's returns; also another, a few days after, who likewise carried much estate.

Harvest blessings. We had through favor, since the wet weather in the spring, a very fruitful summer and seasonable harvest, and the year hitherto finely healthful.

Sept. 26. The church at Hartford, and the dissenting brethren that had withdrawn from communion and joined to another church, appeared here in their representatives, and referred themselves to the judgment of a council before chosen by nine several churches, and then sat in Boston.

The council fully heard the grievances of both sides, and, through the gracious presence of God, so determined as was blessed with a sweet re-union, and very good satisfaction unto both parties; which was publicly manifested before they departed home. The council also reserved a liberty for themselves to sit again the next spring, if any thing should after prove not so clear as it seemed to be at present to both parties.[1] No sooner had God blessed us with this sweet peace, but he tried us with other troubles. Sundry of the Quakers came into the town, boldly and presumptuously resolving to outvie the authority of the country. Though they had been punished, and sent away, yet they would obtrude themselves upon us. Three of them had also been, a few weeks before, banished upon pain of death, — William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, two young fellows, little above twenty years of age; and one Mary Dyer, of Road Island, who, about twenty years since, was of Boston, and brought forth a hideous monster, part like a man, part

[1] On the subject of this troublesome controversy between the Rev. Mr. Stone and certain members of his church, see note in Savage's Winthrop, i. 169, ed. 1853.

like a fish, part like a bird, part like a beast, and had no neck: it had scales, claws, and horns. These three persons had the sentence of death pronounced against them by the General Court, then sitting; and well they deserved it. Most of the godly have cause to rejoice, and bless the Lord that strengthens our magistrates and deputies to bear witness against such blasphemers.

A blessing of God upon a young woman.

A further merciful providence. There was baptized, Oct. 23, a male child of one Constant Madock, who had ——— abortives before, but never any living child; and is the more remarkable, because, seven or eight months before, she embraced the order of the church, and was accepted a member, though her father and mother are much declined in that respect, and have been for many years. Though Quakers disown church order, yet the Lord owns it, and in his time will attest to it.

Oct. 27. The two young men before mentioned had the sentence of death executed upon them; but Mary Dyer was, upon petition of some friends, reprieved, provided she departed the jurisdiction in two days, and came no more hither.

Eclipse.

Nov. 4. Upon this 4th of 9ber, being the sixth of the week, there was an eclipse of the sun. It began presently after seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till half an hour past nine. Digits eclipsed, nine.

Nov. 11. The first snow this year fell this night. It was but about an inch deep; only whited the ground.

Public Thanksgiving.

Dec. 8 was celebrated as a day of thanksgiving, throughout the Colony, for the comfortable harvest, the health of the country generally, and for our preservation from the destructive desires of that pestilent company the Quakers, for the healing of the great breach at Hartford, and for the peace of churches and the Commonwealth, &c.

Dec. 23. In the evening of this day, Mr. Edward Norris,[1] teacher of the church at Salem, departed this life, — a zealous and a pious man, and had attained to the age of about four-score years.

In this same month of December, the young children of this town, and sundry towns hereabout, were much afflicted with a very sore whooping-cough: some few died of it.

2d of 11th. A little ship, called the "Tryall," Mr. Samuel Scarlet, master, set sail for England. He had a good quantity of beavers and peltry, as the rest of the returns for this year.

Cold winter. We had much sharp frost the latter end of December, — all our bay frozen over; but the ice continued not in the channel but a few days. We had also much snow; and it continued until the 15th of February, and then the weather grew very temperate: no frost for many nights together, that it soon wasted. We had a pretty cold March, only not much frost. . . . *The frost was out of the ground when the 12th month ended.*

Great snow, 16th of 1st. Upon the 16th of 1st, 1659–60, there was a very great storm of wind and snow, such as none went beyond it all winter. All March very cold. A snow, April 6th.

15th of 11th. About this time, there came in a ship from London, and brought us intelligence of the state of our native land, which was very sad, — partly by the abounding of Quakers and almost all manner of heresies, all too much borne with, and by many in authority countenanced; also the unsettled state of the Parliament, — being lately dissolved, and forced from their sitting, by the army; and sundry insurrections and discontents in the people: as if the reformation,

[1] His age was seventy. Farmer, Eliot, and Allen give the date of his death as April 10; Mr. Savage, as Dec. 23.

purchased by so much war and blood, should be given up again to heretics and Papists, &c. For all which the Lord stirred up his people here to set apart the 22d of 12th month to seek the Lord, in solemn fasting, in all the churches hereabout. Public Fast.

[At this point, two pages in the Diary are written in short-hand, of a character especially careless, and difficult to decipher. This embraces all the entries which follow, to 1660, 20th of 3d, where the long-hand begins again. As in other passages, the short-hand is indicated by Italic type. It will be observed that the marginal notes, and some few words in the text, are in the ordinary character. As in other cases, the words which the editor cannot decipher are indicated by a row of periods, thus, ...].

Upon the 15th day of this present 12th month, about two or three o'clock of the morning, some ill-minded, or else unruly, rude persons, made bold to throw off two guns . . . . upon the ground. An insolent act.

In the year 1657, *here was a woman, by name* Jone Hogg, *a sister of the church, and by most alleged to be a* g[ood] *woman, of more . . . . alleged, however, of the . . . . A poor woman, — one that had met with much afflicting hardships of poverty, and her husband* all carrying *his living others* [*? otherwhere*]. *Yet this woman . . . . had, to some, dreams or assurances that she should tell and attest toward them; and she and her children should live of pure spirit. She allowed herself to be somewhat censorious to some that afflicted her, and were not kind to her; and (yet ?) she seemed to become . . . . sorry for . . . . of duty. . . . For some time, she would go to every lecture, stand and pray, and shed abundance of tears, — and that sundry weeks together; and sometime sing so indecently and loud, that, for this, she was first arrested by the church, and committed to the prison and to the civil* Joan Hogg.

magistrate, that she might not disturb the congregation. And yet, in the prison, she would stand and pray and weep. She pretended repentance to those .... At first, she was sent to Chrl .... to her husband, and died a horrid death. For a year or two at most, both she and her husband were there starved to death with hunger.[1]

Knap. *There was another woman of* ——— Knap. *She .... ; pretending to rail, and being troublesome, she was sent to prison. Sometime she would hate Quakers, sometime plead for them: sometime, weeping tears, she could, out of herself, speak not a word to any; sometime weary others with much speaking.*

Goodwife Batchelor. *Another woman of that time, about* 1658, *that took such .... to the husband of another woman, did leave her, and would not .... still go to the meeting-house in the .... magistrate was forced to condemn her to prison. She would strip herself almost to the skin, and get out, if possible* [three remaining lines nearly illegible].

Goodwife Pope.[2] *Another poor woman,* ——— Pope, *whose husband was a very melancholy and unhappy man.* [The passage is nearly illegible. He appears to have refused to share his wages with her, and she, with the consent of the church, to have deserted him.]

[1] The following extracts from the records of the First Church, Boston, refer to these transactions: —

"Our Sister Hogg, for her disorderly singing and her idleness, and for saying she is commanded of Christ so to do, she was admonished, with the consent of the church, the 1st, 4th month, 1657.

"Our Sister Hogg, for her refusing to labor, and saying she is commanded of God so to do, and for her disturbing the congregation by her disorderly singing, with refusing to hear the counsel of Christ given her in the church, was, in the name of the Lord Jesus, with the consent of the church, excommunicate on the 12th of the 5th month, 1657."

[2] "Ann Pope admitted a member the 4th of 8th month, 1657." — *Records First Church.*

A certain man, John Hurd, *by trade a tailor, was* .... *and drinking with companions; so that, after being privately admonished of* .... *he was put forth from the church* .... *in silence of more people, and continued out to this* .... *day. He was a man that made* .... *of himself, apt to chide when with others;* imperious in *his folly.*[1] John Hurd.

1660, 20th of 6th. In the night before the sabbath, it continued lightning from about nine o'clock until two or three, and frequently thundering: a pretty deal of rain also.

21st of 3d. Mary Dyer, who, 27th of October last, was reprieved from death, presumptuously returned, and came audaciously through the town at high day. All her private friends that met her persuaded her to return. She answered, she had a strong power to go forward, but no strength to go back. (He must needs go whom the Devil drives.) She was, by authority, apprehended, and, the 1st day of 4th month, hanged to death. Three or four other presumptuous Quakers were banished upon pain of death.

4th of 3d. Mr. Edward Holyoke departed this life, — a grave, pious, and able Christian.[2]

[1] The following entries, in the records of the First Church, allude to this case: —

"Our Brother John Hurd, for his common and frequent drunkenness, was, in the name of the Lord Jesus and with the consent and power of the church, excommunicate on the 11th of 10th month, 1653.

"John Hurd, upon his repentance, openly professed before the church, for his sin of drunkenness, — for which he was formerly excommunicated out of the church, — was now again, by Elder Penn, with the church's consent, by the lifting up of their hands, restored into the fellowship thereof, 3d month, 1654–55."

This last entry, with three others of 1654 and 1655, are found in the midst of 1664.

"John Hurd, for his drunkenness, upon conviction by sufficient witnesses, was, by a unanimous consent of the brethren, in the name of the Lord Jesus, excommunicate from the fellowship of the church, 25th 9th month, 1666."

[2] At Lynn, where he first resided. He removed to Springfield, and was a deputy from the town, but appears to have returned to Lynn. His inventory is described as that of "the estate of Mr. Edward Holyoke, of Lynne, who died at Rumney Marsh, the 4th of May, 1660."

Mr. Holyoke was the author of a work entitled "The Doctrine of Life, or of

26th of 1st, '59. Mahalalule Mummings, *a young man, going, about nine o'clock, toward .... his .... being nevertheless .... dead with cold and .... escaped. He .... the Mill Creek the first morning.*

Palsy. *One Mr. Web dies. Upon the sabbath day .... smiting with the palsy, and died the third day of the week, two o'clock.*

1660. Mrs. Wilson's death, 6th of 4th. Mrs. *Wilson, our pastor's wife, having been much of late years afflicted with the previous distempers, died Friday, the 6th of 4th month.*

21st of 4th. By reason of intelligence of sad distractions in England, such as threatened the frustration of all the hopes of the reformation begun, — Royalists taking hand and heart of the one party, and Anabaptists and sectaries on the other party, and a fear of their joining with the Quakers, all which sorely threatened the loss of England's peace, —

Public Fast. the General Court called upon the whole Colony to seek the Lord in a way of solemn fasting and prayer; which was this day attended.

Man's Redemption," — a quarto volume, printed at London, 1656, pp. 344. His own estimate of its value is indicated by the language of his will, wherein he says, "As for the holy faith of the holy one God in Trinitie, and of the holy faith of our glorious Lord, the Son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the second Adam, I have composed a book, and doe bestow upon each of my sons-in-law, as their best legacy." His will also contains a reference to his books, writings, and manuscripts, "which he left to his son Hollyoke." This was *Elizur*, who married a daughter of William Pynchon. He was several years a deputy from Springfield, and an influential citizen.

It is remarkable that both Pynchon and Holyoke should have published elaborate works on theology. The former, annoyed by the proceedings of the Court, for having expressed, and caused to be printed, opinions somewhat at variance with the orthodox standard of the time, sought refuge in his native country, but left his son, "the worshipful Major John," at Springfield, a trustworthy magistrate, distinguished for his usefulness. Mr. Holyoke, more fortunate than his friend, escaped censure, but, as deputy, dissented from the Court in its persecution of Pynchon.

The names of Holyoke and Pynchon are held in honor in the place where they resided, and are perpetuated in their attachment to several local institutions. A part of the original territory of Springfield now constitutes the town of Holyoke. (See Abstract of Wills; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ix. p. 345.)

26th of 3d. Two ships came in from England, and brought news of the safe arrival of the vessels that sailed thither last year with the returns of this country; and after them, upon 4th of 4th, came in the ship "Tryall," laden with English goods. Ships return.

And, in the 4th month, came in Master Woodgreen and Master Peirce, — two great ships, laden with supplies of clothing for the country.

31st of 3d. Charles the Second was, by a strange turn of Providence, with all joy accepted; and then arrived, to take his father's throne, in England. The good Lord make him a nursing father to the church, and fit him as he did David, by long affliction, to be an excellent shepherd to his English Israel!

29th of 6th. The Lord having bowed the heart of Mr. ——— Higginson to tarry at Salem, whereas last year he came from ———,[1] with a full purpose for to remove himself and family to England, and Salem being then lately deprived of Mr. Norris by death, they prevailed with him to labor in God's work among them. God so inclined all hearts, as that he was this day ordained a pastor to that church.

Sept. 24. About this time went the ship "Prudent Mary," and, about Oct. 20, the ship "John of Leith," both laden with the returns of the country, for London.

Oct. 26. A snow, seven inches deep. Snow.

We heard of the bishops; and with them the old formalities of surplice, &c., were begun to be practised again in our native land, — which had been now twenty years expunged, — and many good ministers put out of place. Sad news.

Oct. 24. One Mrs. ——— Cogan, a gentlewoman that had

[1] John Higginson, who came from Guilford, in Connecticut.

lived in good credit, and before thought to be very pious, poisoned herself. *She was stated, of some that knew her best, to be of such part* [a few words illegible].

About the 6th month last, there was likewise another woman, well reputed of, drowned herself at Dedham, — one Go—— Dwite. Two awful strokes unto all that knew them; and no little scandal, by accident, to religion; and a great brand of infamy upon themselves. This is not the death of the righteous.

Nov. 25. Upon the Lord's Day, one Joan Edwards, of whom mention is made page 16,[1] made confession in public, by a writing, read, and taken from her mouth by Mr. Wilson, how that, about three months since, she arose from her former misery, and first began to attend outward labor and employment, yet retaining her former thoughts of hell to be her portion; but, after her attendance a few weeks in this way, she found her heart more and more encouraged, and despair decaying, and hopes of mercy reviving, as also a sense of her great stubbornness of will, the chief cause of her former will, and a conviction of other secret sins. She acknowledged the justice and mercy of God, and felt, at last, a benefit by the church's former censure of admonition, and some word of promise God began to quicken her soul with, and earnestly desired the prayers of God's people, and that she might be a warning to all to take heed of self-willedness.

Captivity returns.

Nov. 30. A small ship arrived from England, Mr. Trumball, master, and brought intelligence of the bishops' countenancing the old liturgy, and inventions of men, in the worship of God, and the face of things looking sadly toward the letting-in of Popery; as if, when they had been now twenty years conflicting, and a great part of them in bloody war, for reformation, they should all upon a sudden be sent

[1] Page 181.

back again, as sometime Israel in the wilderness, ready to enter into Canaan, yet for unbelief and disobedience sent back to the Red Sea, and to wandering forty years, to consume that generation that would not learn and do the work of their generation.

This winter, Mr. ——— Newman, Governor of New Haven, died.

Jan. 23. We have had very little snow hitherto, and not much frost: a few pretty cold days in beginning of November and latter end of December, otherwise hitherto very little frost.

Dec. 26.[1] About this time, the General Court being called to consider of some address and letters congratulatory to be sent from the country unto the king, and to the lords and commons in Parliament, with desire of their gracious confirmation of our patent, and therein of our liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, it was sent in the vessel now to go.

Here was some Quakers, that by law deserved death; yet, pretending they came for passage to England, the Court gave them leave to depart in Master Gillum's ship, now to go. Two of them went to the said ship about the 4th of 11th month. The ship was held windbound at Nantascut until 12th of this 11th month, and then set sail, and another small vessel with them, John Fairwether, master, — both laden with the returns of the country. Ship set sail.

The rest of the Quakers had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction, though some of them capitally guilty. The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God's holy law upon such blasphemous persons!

Jan. 5. The Lord was pleased to chasten his people with an epidemical cold, which seized not only upon every town,

[1] This is still 1660; the entry above having been inserted after this was written.

but almost upon every person, though upon the most very gently; yet some died, it being, amongst some towns, accompanied with fever and ague. *It spread to every town, that we could ask them.*

Jan. 20. Being the Lord's Day, our church having before agreed that the elders should call upon the adult children of the church, to see whether they would own and take hold of the covenant of their fathers (which had been thus long, for the most part, neglected), and, through favor, a great willingness appeared, both in youth, maids, men, and women (though not many was grown up to married estate); and this sabbath, and some the former sabbath, being called by their names, in the face of the whole congregation, did openly manifest their desire to acknowledge their relation to the church, according to the covenant of God which they plighted in their parents.

Mr. Edward Hutchinson, though he had before promised to rest silent in the church's attendance of what they judged their duty, though himself not approving of it (yet turned his back upon the church), as soon as they began this solemn and public performance, he desired a dismission from the church. Mr. Anthony Stoderd seemed also not a little offended; but the church, with general satisfaction and cheerfulness, attended this work.

Jan. 21. Mr. Isaac Heith,[1] the ruling elder at Roxbury, departed this life, being about seventy-five years old, — a man exemplary for piety and fidelity in his charge, and likewise of good ability. The good Lord make us sensible of our pillars falling, and raise up others with a double portion of their spirit!

Jan. 23. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, of the church at Rowley, departed this life, aged [left blank; seventy years, according to Farmer].

[1] Heath.

Jan. 31, *or rather* Feb. 1. About seven o'clock at night, there was an earthquake, the shaking whereof was little discerned at Boston, but the noise heard by most. At Roxbury, the shaking was much more discernible.

Feb. 7. There fell a snow, about a foot deep, and pretty sharp frost so far on this month; but, about the 10th day of this 12th, it began to be very moderate, and the snow every day wasted apace.

Feb. 27 was kept as a solemn fast by the churches in these parts, — partly in respect of a general cold that seized upon the country lately; and partly that the Lord would give the country favor in the eyes of the king and parliament, and accept the late address hence made unto them; and that the Lord would move them to continue and encourage us in the exercise of our liberties, civil and ecclesiastic. And it was the serious desire of many, that the Lord would direct the country concerning these two gentlemen, Mr. Whally and Goff, whether to prevent and hinder their escape hence, and reserve them to be sent to England if sent for, or to suffer them, if they see cause, to go whither they please; and, however, that all may see our religion doth not teach us to be disloyal to our native land, the parliament, or our sovereign; and also that religion might prosper there, the work of Christ in his churches encouraged and increased, and, among ourselves, this great question about the right and privilege of the children in our churches, and the duty of each church toward them, might be more fully understood and embraced. A Fast.

24th of 12th. One George Broome, a tailor, was brought drunk into his house late in the evening, and laid upon a bed, but, in the morning, found dead (being the Lord's-day morning). He was, with some other company, late that night in a wine-cellar, and, in his lifetime, a tippling A sad warning to drunkards.

fellow, profanely malignant against the ways and people of God.

9th of 1st [1661]. This Court, two Quakers, formerly banished (*pœna mortis*), for their blasphemous tenets vented, are now condemned to die for presumptuous coming again into our jurisdiction. 14th of 1st, one of them, William Ledra, was executed.

27th of 12th [1660]. It being a public fast in most churches, Mr. William Thomson, pastor of the church of Brantrey, being solicited earnestly by the people — Mr. Henry Flint, their other teaching elder, being sick — to preach, did hearken; though before this, through deep melancholy, had wholly neglected all public exercises, and, of late, family worship as to his own performance, calling himself a reprobate, yet now doth preach again:[1] *but, since this, his must be a mournful estate, constantly* [half a line illegible].

Mr. Thompson.

1661. Most of the first month pretty cold.

17th of 1st, *it being a sabbath day*, was a violent storm of snow; and, in afternoon, rain.

The spring proved backward. Much cold and moist weather until about the middle of the 3d month; then it began to be warm weather.

13th of 2d. Master Samuel Scarlet arrived here from England.

5th of 3d. Master Foster arrived; and, by him, we received the intelligence of a horrid act of Thomas Venner, and thirty-eight companions in evil, that, under a pretence of fighting for King Jesus, they armed themselves, and slew sundry in the city of London. (It is high time for all that do indeed fear God to distinguish between true worship and pretenders unto the worship of God, and to be afraid of the principles and companies of such who dare venture to

Thomas Venner.

[1] He died Dec. 9, 1666. See Diary under that date.

break God's known laws under pretence of being his choice servants.) In conclusion, they was slain, scattered, taken, and about sixteen of the principal executed, according to their deserts.[1]

23d of 2d. Nathaniel Williams, one of our selectmen, died.

6th of 3d. We received a loving letter from the king's majesty; but the chief matter in it was a command for the apprehending the two colonels, Whally and Goff. The letter was dated 1st March ('60). The governor forthwith sent to all the colonies copies of the said letter, and messengers to do their utmost in that respect.

18th of 3d. Here arrived the ship "William and Jane," Master John Baker, commander, and brought in letters from the king's majesty, expressing himself willing to show all just encouragement to us as any of his royal predecessors had done, and accepting our address, promising it should not want a due remembrance upon all seasonable occasions, &c. Likewise a letter to the governor from the Earl of Southampton, and another from Secretary Morris.

About 16th of 4th, at Wooborn,[2] there fell abundance of great hail, some two inches long and one inch thick, and lay upon the ground three or four inches deep; brake and spoiled much grass and corn; a great wind accompanying, blowing down many trees.

[1] Other accounts say twelve. The execution took place in January. Venner was a "fifth-monarchy man, and, maintaining that both Cromwell and Charles II. were usurpers, proclaimed the kingdom of King Jesus. He had resided at Salem, where he was a member of the church. He was also a member of the Artillery Company. The Rev. William Hooke, writing from England to Governor Winthrop in 1657, says it was a conspiracy carried on by tumultuous, outrageous, discontented men, pretending to fifth monarchy. . . . One *Venner*, not long since dwelling in your Boston, a wine-cooper, is a principal actor, who, being brought before the Protector, spoke and behaved himself with as great impudence, insolence, pride, and railing as (I think) you ever heard of." Venner and his companions died, affirming that, if they had been deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver.

[2] Woburn.

27th of 4th. Master John Fairwether[1] arrived here from London.

6th of 5th. Capt. Woodgreen arrived from London in the ship "Prudent Mary."

22d of 3d was our general election court. The Quakers had given out such speeches as gave cause to think they intended mischief unto our magistrates and ministers, and threatened fire and sword to be our speedy portion; but it pleased God we had no disturbance by any. Mr. John Norton preached a very excellent and seasonable sermon to the country then met.

4th of 4th. So likewise did Mr. Higginson upon the Artillery Election, the first second day in the 4th month. The General Court continued long this sessions; and many very honestly minded of the deputies, and some among the magistrates, could not consent to own the governor's acting without the council in executing the king's majesty's warrant for apprehending Coll. Whally and Goff, though they own it a duty to be done; yet his acting without the major part of the council assembled made them loath to own the act at all. The Court, not proceeding with a like understanding, could not be unanimous in voting. A committee of four magistrates, four ministers, and four deputies, was chosen, who faithfully asserted the liberty of the country, according to the patent, in sundry particulars, and likewise plainly cleared our duty of subjection and loyalty; acknowledged we held this place of his majesty's manor of East Greenwich, and were not to subject it to any other; and to endeavor the preservation of his royal person, realm, and dominions, &c.; and that the letters abovesaid were to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authority of the

[1] A representative in 1684. He died April 18, 1712, aged seventy-eight (Farmer). He was one of the committee for the war in 1676.

country, &c. The Court owned, by their vote, the said draught presented.

The Quakers were all sent out of the prison; and Weanlock, that was condemned, was once more let go. Two of them was whipped out of the jurisdiction at a cart, and all the rest went along with them; and, as they come hereafter, to be whipped hence as vagabonds.

This spring proved very moist; but the summer hot, and likely to be fruitful. The canker-worm hath, for the four years, devoured most of the apples in Boston, that the apple-trees look, in 4th month, as if it was the 9th month.

Connecticut has had much corn spoiled by their great floods this spring.

10th of 5th was appointed by the General Court, before they brake up, for a day of thanksgiving [to God] for his goodness to us in the loving letter of his majesty for our long peace, health, and plenty.

19th of 5th. The "Charles" arrived from London, with eighty passengers, — John Leveret[1] one. About 28th of 6th, the "Charles," of London, Mr. Robert Lord, master, sailed hence for London, full freighted.

8th of 6th, being the 5th day of the week, after our ordinary lecture, the soldiers being all in arms, viz., our four companies and the country troop, the magistrates mounted on horseback, the ministers being present, and a multitude of people, King Charles the Second was proclaimed by Mr. Edward Rawson, Secretary of State, all standing bare, and ended with "God save the king!" and a shout, sundry volleys of shot from the soldiery, all the guns in the castle and fort

[1] Afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. He was in England when complaints from Rhode Island were carried to Cromwell against the Colony. "Mr. Leverett, who was a captain of horse under Cromwell during some part of the war, had much of his favor, and prevented so much as an inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts." (Hutchinson.)

and town and ships. All the chief officers feasted that night at the charge of the country.[1]

8th of 6th. One Christopher Batt was accidentally shot by his own son into the bowels. Died the next evening.

Sept. 16, being a training-day for horse and foot, Major-Gen. Atherton riding home, his horse threw him. He was taken up speechless and senseless, and so continued from six o'clock till one o'clock in the morning, and died.

Sept. 20. His corpse attended to the grave with ten foot-companies, and the country troop from Boston to Dorchester.

Oct. 1. The ship "Prudent Mary" sailed hence, carrying a great part of the returns of the country for this year for London.

This latter part of the summer proved very sickly in many parts of the country, especially of agues. Our town also had many sick; and sundry died, especially children, of gripings and fluxes.

Nov. 10. A snow, about five inches deep.

Nov. 12. The ship "Society" was launched.

Nov. 16. A ship came in from London, the master whereof was a Quaker, — one Ralph Goldsmith. *The ship's name, the "Untried" ship.*

Dec. 4. A day of public humiliation by our church and several churches hereabout. *The . . . . Court sat the same day, which was looked at as . . . . by some of us.*

Dec. 24. A meeting of the magistrates, elders, and deputies in the towns near Boston. They agreed, with one consent, that Mr. Norton and Mr. Broadstreet should be sent to England in behalf of the churches and Commonwealth. The General Court met, and acted the same.

[1] This demonstration of loyalty was made more than fourteen months after Charles's return.

2d of 11th. A day of humiliation kept in all this Colony.

7th of 11th. Our church consented that our reverend teacher, Mr. John Norton, should not be hindered by us from undertaking the said voyage.[1]

A committee being chosen by the General Court to take care concerning this matter, to receive their answer, they sat several days, preparing, propounding, and concluding the going of the said messengers, during which time the weather hindered the ships sailing. Feb. 1. The said committee went home. The same day, or at night, Mr. Norton was taken sick, full of pain. Feb. 3, the wind was pretty fair, and, Feb. 5, exceeding fair, and a settled sky. The ship was stopped for five days to see whether Mr. Norton might, in that time, be fit to expose his body to the seas, — who was willing so to do, though sick, if judged meet by the said committee.

10th of Feb. Mr. Norton, Mr. Broadstreet, Mr. Davis, and myself, went on shipboard. Next morning, set sail; and, by the 28th March, we saw the Lizard; and, 22d of 1st, we arrived in the Downs. After a few days, the messengers addressed themselves to the Court, delivered their letters to the Lord Chancellor, received good words from him. After their minds, by several comings, fully known, they had fair promises of a full grant to their whole desire in the country's behalf. But their writing, which they drew in order there-

[1] A thankless service; for though favorably received by the Court, and returning the same year "with the king's most gracious letter, some parts of which" cheered the hearts of the whole country, "yet, as other portions gave less satisfaction, the agents, instead of receiving credit for what they had accomplished, were reproached for not having accomplished more. This popular censure exceedingly affected Mr. Norton, who grew melancholy, and died in April following" (1662). "Mr. Broadstreet," says Hutchinson, "was a man of more phlegm, and not so sensibly touched." On this occasion, it was remarked by Cotton Mather, that, "of all the agents sent over unto the Court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not, on his return, meet with some froward entertainment among his countrymen."

unto, at last unsigned; and another letter, wherein was sundry things ordered for the country to attend which seemed somewhat inconsistent with our patent and former privileges, in the beginning of said letter confirmed, and which some endeavor to take advantage from to the change [of] our good laws and customs.

The General Court ordered all warrants to proceed in his majesty's name, but, as yet, sent no other letters of acknowledgment nor other request.

1662. A synod at Boston, who published the proposition, 1st, touching the subject of baptism; 2dly, consociation of churches.

In some of our eastern plantations, as Dover, &c., many have become Quakers, and no little trouble thereby unto those whose hearts do indeed fear God, or are sound in the doctrine of faith; and it seemeth as a punishment for their unwillingness, that the civil magistrate should exert his power for their suppression.

The former part of this summer was a very great drought, insomuch that the grass and corn was so scorched, there was little likelihood of any harvest, and so as God seemed to shut out their prayers: but at last, the elders being met, in a synodical way, to consult of matters ecclesiastical, they kept one day in fasting and prayer; and the Lord gave a speedy answer, and a full supply of rain, and a pretty comfortable harvest.

Sept. 8. Master Clark, in the ship "Society," brought in the country's messengers in safety; viz., Mr. Broadstreet and Mr. Norton.[1]

Nov. 5 was appointed and kept as a day of public thanksgiving throughout this Colony.

[1] Also Hull himself. See private Diary.

Dec. 3 was also a day of public humiliation throughout this Colony.

Dec. 27. Master Clark sailed hence with the latter returns of this year to England. Then began the weather to be winter-like; for, until that time, we scarce had any frost nor snow.

1663

Jan. 1. Fell a pretty deep snow; and so several times, both in the 11th and 12th months. The snow was generally two feet deep. About the 26th of February, and beginning of March, it wasted gently from day to day.

26th of 11th. In the evening, about six o'clock, was an earthquake, that shook much for near one-quarter of an hour; the ground being covered with snow about one foot deep, and hard, frosty weather. *The elders that day met at Mr. Norton's house.* There was shaking in several parts of the town, and other towns, two or three times the same week; but the former was general.

1663, 9th of 1st. Sundry young merchants and others, being non-freemen, boldly offered their votes to the freemen where they were together for nomination of magistrates.[1]

5th of 2d, being the Lord's Day, Rev. Mr. John Norton was in some pain under his left pap, but yet came to the assembly, and, in the afternoon, intended to preach: but Mr. Allen was by some friend procured to preach again in his room; and Mr. Norton was laid upon the bed at home, his pain not much increasing, and at evening he thought somewhat abated. He walked, and spake cheerfully; and suddenly, about seven o'clock, he exchanged this temporal life for one eternal, in a most easy and quick way, — only a very few groans and gasps, though before and otherwise a strong and healthful body.[2]

[1] See Colony records, vol. iv. part 2, p. 74.

[2] Mr. Norton had gone abroad as one of the Colony's Commissioners very unwillingly. On his return, the report of the commission was so ungraciously received,

Our loss seemeth irreparable; ourselves most unworthy to have ever such a mercy again: only the Lord dealeth not with his people according to their evil deservings, but bestoweth blessings for his own and his Christ's sake; to whom let us go, as with ropes about our necks, in humility, repentance, and hope.

1663 16th of 3d. Betwixt Milford and New Haven, there was seen two suns, for the space of half one hour, by sundry persons, about four o'clock in the afternoon; the one about a point of the compass southward of the true sun.

A prodigy.

24th of 3d. The ship "Society," John Peirce, master, arrived safe here, laden with goods, and some passengers; among whom, Rev. Mr. John Wally,[1] a minister, with his family.

The spring appeared very hopeful for a good harvest; but, about the beginning of the 5th month, the best wheat, as also some other grain, was blasted in many places, so that whole acres were not worth reaping. We have had much drought the last summer, and excess of wet several other springs; but this of blasting is the first so general and remarkable that I yet heard of in New England.

Blasting: Hag. ii. 17; Amos iv. 9.

Deaths. June 15. Mr. Miller,[2] a minister of Groton, died.

5th of 5th. Mr. Newman, minister at Rehoboth, died.

that, says Hutchinson, "he grew melancholy." Hutchinson seems to ascribe his death, in some degree, to this cause. The Quakers considered it a just judgment of God upon him, as the "chief priest of Boston."

Mather says, "Of these temptations, a considerable share fell to Mr. Norton; concerning whom, there were many who did not stick to say that 'he had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties;' and his melancholy mind imagined that his best friends began, therefore, to look awry upon him." (See p. 205.)

See Hull's private Diary.

[1] Afterwards minister of Barnstable. He died March 24, 1679 (Farmer, Allen); or Jan. 24, 1678, according to Mr. Savage.

[2] John Miller, of Yarmouth, died at Groton, June 12, 1663 (Savage).

See Butler's Hist. of Groton.

20th of 5th. Mr. Stone also, a minister of Hartford, died.

27th of 5th. The ship "Society," Mr. Chr: Clark, master, arrived from London, laden with goods and passengers; amongst whom was one Mr. Woodbrige,[1] a reverend minister, with his family.

7th of 6th. Our church at Boston kept a fast to humble themselves before the Lord for his hand upon them in the loss of Mr. Norton, our reverend teacher, and to entreat him, the God of the spirits of all flesh, to give us a meet supply.

15th of 6th. The church had a meeting, and jointly agreed to write letters by the first opportunity unto England for Dr. John Owen.

21st of 6th. The letters by the persons deputed to draw them were read to the church; which they accepted. Only Mr. Edward Hutchinson and Mr. Houchin[2] showed dissent, and desired the church might at that time express their intention, or rather resolution, to choose Mr James Allen.

Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Carrill [Caryl], and Mr. Greenhill[3] were also written unto to promote the church's desire, and, in case it so should fall out that the doctor could not come, to think of who might be meet for us.

22d August. There was a great eclipse of the sun, 9 digits 53 min., at three o'clock in the afternoon; a very clear day. The light was almost like eventide. Eclipse.

28th of August. A solemn fast at Charltown.

Sept. 2. A solemn fast at Cambridge.

[1] John Woodbridge, first minister of Andover. "He went to England in 1647; returned in July, 1663, and took up his residence at Newbury; was elected assistant in 1683 and 1684; and acted as magistrate until his death, 17th March, 1695. (Farmer.)

[2] Jeremy Houchin, "a distinguished inhabitant." His daughter Elizabeth married John, son of Gov. Endicott. (Drake.)

[3] Eminent ministers in London, and members of the Westminster Assembly.

Aug. 28. Master Peirce set sail hence for London.

Much corn blasted in several parts.

Sept. 3. Capt. Seely arrived here from London.

In this month of September, October, and part of November, there came very many bears out of the wilderness, so that several hundreds were killed of them by the English in the several parts of this Colony. They did little hurt to any person: some few wounded; only one Indian died.

Wild bears.

This year it was said, by such as took account of the number of ships that came in, that there came into Boston harbor sixty ships and barks, besides ketches, &c.

About this time, here arrived Mr. Nathaniel Brewster,[1] a very able and pious minister, in Master Prout's ship, from London. Mrs. Norton entertained him and his family in her house; and after a while, when our church had tasted his gifts, they desired his frequent labor among us. Who, together with Mr. James Allen, — that came hither about August, 1662, — carried on the public ministry in our church.

Mr. Worster, minister of Salisbury, died.[2]

Dec. 2 was a day of public thanksgiving in several churches hereabout.

18th. Letters were again sent by Boston church to call Dr. John Owen to officiate to them.

Letters in their behalf, written likewise by the General Court and by the elders distinct, to move him to come.[3]

25th. The "Society," Master Clark's ship, sailed hence

[1] Nathaniel Brewster (H.C. 1642) was settled in the ministry at Norfolk, in England; returned to America, and settled at Brookhaven, L. Island, in 1665; and died in 1690. (Farmer.)

[2] Mr. Savage assigns Oct. 20, and Farmer Oct. 8, 1662, as the date of his death.

[3] The letter of the Court is found in Colony Records, vol. iv. part ii. p. 98.

with the greatest part of the returns for this latter part of the year. Also the "Supply," John Fairweather, master, carried the remainder.

Dec. 30. Our church at Boston kept a solemn fast, which is to be observed gradually in all the neighboring churches.

Jan. 15. About this time began an epidemical cold, and scarcely missed a touch of any; and many were brought very low by it, a fever setting in with it upon many. Our Elder Pen[1] was very ill of it, and sundry others; but it pleased the Lord that few died.

Very little cold weather until the beginning of 11th month, and then sundry great snows, though intermixed with many moderate seasons and thaws. The spring proved cold and dry.

1664, 26th of 3d month. Master Peirce arrived from London, but brought not Dr. Owen, nor any certain information of his resolution to come.

The whole Bible printed in the Indian tongue.

27th of 3d. Mr. Increase Mather was ordained a teacher of the church at the north end of Boston.

Sundry agitations and troublesome motions have been this last winter and spring between the United Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, about their jurisdiction of Colonies, and one Mr. John Scot.

Our Colony and Plymouth have made some application to them, as foreseeing danger of ruin to all for want of union, or through the divisions of some.

Self-interest is too predominant in many. Want of subjection of inferiors to superiors, and too much want of religious care to contain in subjection those under them, is a visible evil among us. Disacknowledgment of the ordinance of councils, and that great breath of a ministerial judge, is

[1] James Penn, elder of the church, Representative and Marshal of the Colony. (Farmer.)

very visible in many churches. Non-acknowledgment of the children of the church to be members thereof, nor taking care that their knowledge and life might answer their relation, is also manifest. And many other evils, as grudging at the maintenance of magistracy, and, by too many, of the maintenance of the ministry; likewise pride in long hair, new fashions in apparel, drinking, gaming, idleness, worldliness, &c.

1664 July 23. Richard Nichols, Esq., and Col. Carteret,[1] and Capt. Thomas Dellavall, arrived here, and Sir Robert Carr, Mr. Maverick, at Pascataqua, with letters from the king's majesty to settle any differences in the Colonies, to demand performance of his letter [of] June, 1662, and to reduce the Monatoes.[2]

Before they went hence, they demanded assistance of two hundred soldiers, in case they should need.

The General Court meeting, appointed the raising of two hundred volunteers, and Capt. Heugh Mason[3] and William Hudson[4] to have the command of them. Few volunteers presented themselves, though the drums beat up and proclamation made in the several towns for them.

Two messengers, Capt. Thomas Clark[5] and John Pynchon,[6] were sent with speed to meet the king's commissioners at the Monatos, and, if they desired the assistance of our soldiery, to send speedy notice.[7] Aug. 27, agreement by several

[1] Cartwright.

[2] Manhadoes, or Manhattan.

[3] A captain of militia; died 1678. (Farmer.)

[4] Captain of the Artillery Company.

[5] Of the Boston Artillery Company. He was several years Speaker of the House, and Assistant. He died in 1683. (Farmer.)

[6] Major Pynchon, of Springfield.

[7] The requisition from Boston was so tardily obeyed, that the enterprise was over before the Massachusetts troops were ready to march. (Gordon, History of New Jersey.) Such, at least, was the complaint of Col. Nicolls and Sir George Carteret to the Secretary of State. But Hutchinson alludes to it to say that two hundred men were raised, and ready to march, with great expedition. And in the commissioners' fourth paper, presented to the General Court in May, 1665, they acknowledge the readiness of the Colony to assist in the expedition.

articles was made for surrender of all into the said commissioners' power.

Sept. 1. A solemn fast appointed by the Court, and kept throughout the jurisdiction.

The wheat throughout our jurisdiction this year mostly blasted: in sundry towns, scarce any left. The latter part of summer likewise very droughty; much of the grass scorched up.

September. Latter part of this month cold, and the former part of October; yet the Indian harvest pretty good.

Oct. 28. Our General Court met; and this Court came in sundry petitions, subscribed by many honest-hearted, to signify their desire and encouragement that the liberties granted by patent might, with utmost endeavors, be continued; sundry that were also truly pious and prudent, and likewise lovers of the welfare of this plantation, and desirous of nothing more than their enjoyment of our privileges civil and ecclesiastical, yet were doubtful. Some of the original authors of those petitions were such as looked at this place as a State independent, and hence were less heedful of manifesting their own duty of subjection to our sovereign, in all things where we might, without sin against the King of kings; yet the former honest-hearted subscribers intended no such thing. God therefore, I hope, will accept the sincere desires of his servants, and neither bereave us of our blessings, nor suffer us to forfeit them through defect of duty.

At this Court, the petition drawn by Mr. Mitchell,[1] in behalf of our Colony, to his majesty, was committed to the care of Major-Gen. John Leveret and Capt. D. Gookin, to be

[1] Willoughby, Leverett, and Mitchell had been appointed, Aug. 1, to prepare and draw up a petition, filled with such rational arguments as they can find, for the continuance of our privileges granted by charter.

conveyed safe by Mr. Clark's ship, which sailed hence Nov. 12.

Nov. 16 was a fast, kept by the Colony, appointed by the Court.

There hath come into our harbor of Boston near one hundred sail of ships, this year, of ours and strangers, and all laden hence.

Nov. 10. Came forth in print three sermons preached by Rev. Mr. John Norton, being gathered out of the notes of some that wrote after him in his lifetime;[1] also a letter drawn by him, and subscribed by all our elders, unto one Mr. John Dury, to congratulate his endeavors for the union of all the Protestants.[2]

Oct. 25. One Elizabeth Bishop, who had lived, according to visible appearance, both maid, wife, and three times a widow, under many no small trials, and now about fifty years of age, in good and very commendable repute for Christianity as well as family and neighborly civility, yet cast herself this morning, as soon as up, into a well; was drowned: all her profession issued in such a snuff!

Self-murder.

Lord, let not Satan's followers by it be strengthened in sin, nor thy servants discouraged at all from loving, serving, and trusting in thee!

December. Dec. 8. A blazing star seen ten days before by some. This winter, in December, came Col. Cartwright to town from Monhatos, and, a few days after, Mr. Maverick; and upon 4th of 12th mo. came Sir Robert Carr; and, 16th day, they all three went hence toward Plymouth, accompanied with the major-general and his troop

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[1] Hull was perhaps one of these. See Appendix B.

[2] The original draught, with the signatures of the "elders," is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. A second, with variations, was afterwards drawn up. See Appendix D.

of horse to Milton, and with Capt. Davis[1] and most of the troop to Hingham.

The day before they departed, they had conference with some of our magistrates.

A comet with a blaze appeared about 8th of November, and did not wholly disappear till about February; as see Mr. Thomas Danforth's[2] description in print.

Most of the 11th and 12th mo. was very temperate; little frost, only not much clear sunshine. On the 19th February, the winter did, as it were, begin again. A cold spring: no tree budded until the 1st of May. Season of year. 1665

All employments, a smite upon them; at least, in general, all men are rather going backward than increasing their estates.

14th, 12th. Mr. Samuel Torrey ordained a pastor at Weymouth.

23d, 12th. A fast in Boston, by the appointment of our elders and consent of the church, that the Lord would sanctify all his chastisements, supply us with a teacher, and preserve our civil and ecclesiastical privileges. A Fast.

15th of 1st, '64–5. Our honored Governor, Mr. John Endicott, departed this life, — a man of pious and zealous spirit, who had very faithfully endeavored the suppression of a pestilent generation, the troublers of our peace civil and ecclesiastical, called Quakers. Death of Mr. Endicott.

He died poor, as most of our rulers do, having more attended the public than their own private interests.

It is our shame: though we are indeed a poor people, yet might better maintain our rulers than we do.

[1] Of the Artillery Company.

[2] It was *Samuel* Danforth, minister of Roxbury, who published an account of this comet. He died in 1674.

"Danforthus, qui stellis semper se associavit." — *Mather's "Magnalia."*

However, they have a good God to reward them.

22d of 1st was appointed by the council for a solemn fast throughout this Colony for ourselves, in all our public concernments; and for England, their peace, and freedom of the faithful ministry of God's word.

12th, 2d. About this time, the king's commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Col. Cartwright, and Mr. Maverick, were ready to return, having kept their court at ———, Narrowgansett, Paukatneck, and Warwick, where they possessed and dispossessed several of lands; gave unto two Indian sachems, Ninegrett and Pessacus, scarlet silver-laced coats, sword, and belt; accepted crowns of wompum-peage from them.

Sir Robert returned by way of Plymouth; Col. Cartwright by Natick, being desirous to view the bounds of our patent on that south part.

At Warwick they granted protection to one Porter that escaped from our prison, being here sentenced to severe correction for very great injuries and high abuses to his own father and mother, &c.

They spake in their writings, given forth under their hand and seal, of the United Colonies as a usurped authority.

And of the war against the Pequotts formerly as unlawful, and possession of their conquered lands as without right.

May 1. Col. Richard Nichols came in here from New York, that so all the king's honored commissioners, being together, might communicate their instructions from his majesty unto our General Court. 3d of May being Election Day, they were pleased to be a while present in Court, and see our order in election, showing civility and courtesy.

And at night gave to the soldiery that were that day on the guard five twenty-shilling pieces of gold.

They had on May 2 communicated something to part of the Court that were come together, and 4th of May did

impart more. The first day of the Court there was about seventy freemen admitted, sundry whereof were not members of any particular church, which had been the general rule of admission hitherto. The honored commissioners seem to be elaborate in turning every stone to find the faults of this Colony and government, and to manage them to our disadvantage.

SOME OF MY OWN MEDITATIONS.[1]

. . . . *If we of New England have . . . . why are we imposed upon? why do any, in his majesty's name, protest against us, discourage magistrates, and sit, ... without our consent, in our jurisdiction?*

God, in the king, has committed the care of rule to the government here: they may not suffer any rule to be publicly practised which is not of divine ordination.

We may, while not failing (?) in modesty, plead with our king the end why we came here to this wilderness . . . . the worship of God.

Others that came hither do and will ruin the constitution of the country.

Strangers, though Englishmen, have no R[ight?] *to think they may come hither, and seek the subversion of our civil and ecclesiastical politics.*

April 29. At New Haven was distinctly and plainly heard the noise of guns, two, three, five at a time, a great part of the day, being only such noises in the air.

[1] The disgust which the commissioners excited, and the questions at issue between them and the Colonial government, are very fully explained by Hutchinson. Hull has clothed his somewhat rebellious animadversions on "the honored commissioners" in the most crabbed short-hand of which he is ever guilty. Enough, however, is deciphered above to show the drift of his meditations. He would, apparently, have had the government of the Colony prohibit the sessions of the commission.

The same day, at evening, a house at Northampton [was] fired by lightning; a part of the timber split; a man in it killed. Help coming in, they quenched the fire.

At Narriganset, in Mr. Edward Hutchinson's flock of sheep, were several monsters.

In July were very many noises heard by several towns on Long Island, from the sea, distinctly, of great guns and small, and drums; and, about ten o'clock in a clear day, many companies of armed men in the air, clothed in light-colored garments, and the commanders in sad.

June 22 appointed by the council, and kept by all the Colony, as a solemn fast.

This summer, multitudes of flying caterpillars arose out of the ground and from roots of corn, making such a noise in the air that travellers must speak loud to hear one another; yet they only seized upon the trees in the wilderness.

The wheat generally blasted, and the blast this year took hold of Conecticot and New Haven; yet the Indian, barley, pease, and rye was spared.

July 15. Richard Davenport, the Captain of the Castle, slain, with lightning, upon his bed: several of the soldiers struck speechless for a time, and full of pain.

A house in Boston broken in several places, — chimney-top, roof, sides [one word in short-hand].

A lighter's mast at Charltown shivered to pieces with it.

Aug. 3. Capt. Peirce and Benjamin Gillam set sail, laden for England.

Col. Cartwright[1] went with Mr. Gillam.

Our church sent to Dr. Owen by Mr. Peirce.

Aug. 18. A great hail-storm; viz., at Linn, Wooborn,

[1] The ship was taken by the Dutch. Cartwright was deprived of his papers; and he could never recover them. (Hutchinson.) This was good news to the Colonies, as it was reasonably presumed they were intended to be used for their injury. See p. 221.

and Billirica. Some hail as big as ducks' eggs, many as pullets' eggs; divers of them snagged like pike-bullets.

May 28. Some time this summer, several Anabaptists — 1665
Thomas Gould, Edward Drinker, William Turnor, John George, Thomas Osborn — gathered themselves privately into a church, baptized themselves, administered the supper: meet every Lord's Day.

Sept. 4. [They] were examined before the magistrates, and bound over to the Court; by the Court admonished, and charged to cease their meetings.[1]

Sept. 8. Five Mohawke Indians sent home by the Court with a guard, being lately taken armed, and had killed one of the Indians that live near the English; but profess they were charged by their sachem not to hurt any of the English, nor English Indians that wear English clothes.

The Commissioners for the United Colonies kept not their wonted yearly meeting this year. The Lord grant it be not portentous!

Last spring began a fierce war with the Dutch and French against our nation.

Nov. 8. Kept as a day of solemn thanksgiving that the Lord was pleased to spare so much of the fruits of the earth; that we had not want, but were able to supply other countries; and likewise the continuance of our health and present peace.

22d. Kept likewise, by appointment of the Court, for solemn humiliation, to beg mercy at God's hands for our dear native land, in respect of the raging pestilence, fear of famine, continuance of war; and likewise that we might find continuance of peace and health, and enjoyment of spiritual and civil liberties from the favor of the king's majesty.

[1] See Benedict's "History of the Baptists."

This summer, one ———, of Long Island, told his sons, he dreamed he fought with devils, and they took his hat from him. He was soon after found dead in the way from his meadow-home, killed, as supposed, by lightning, and his hat some few rods from him, cut as if it was by art. His sons reported he told them the dream.

Dec. 8. An extraordinary tempest of wind at south-east in the night, at south-west all the morning and forenoon. A ketch from Barbados, Mr. Shute, master, with all his company and passengers, lost near Salem.

Very unsettled weather the last of November and the first half of December.

Two women died in childbed; several miscarried, some hardly escaping with life.

Cold Winter. Jan. 5. The first week in January, the frosts were violent. Charles River was passed over on foot, and only the channel open before Boston. About 12th January, all open again, and 25th all frozen again, and Boston Channel, all down to the castle, passable to any. 30th January, all open again. Feb. 6, all frozen again down to the castle. 11th February, began to open to the channel, and so gradually.

All these trials are not to be mentioned with England's great affliction by the pestilence and dearth, and war with the Dutch. The good Lord spare and teach our nation to draw near to him!

Fasts. 25th January celebrated as a solemn fast by our church at Boston, and to go in course through the Bay churches. Feb. 6, kept at Roxbury; 14th, at Cambridge; 27th, at Dorchester; March 14, at Weymouth; 23d, at Charltown.

Mercies. One thing remarkable in the summer past: The country's letters to the king's majesty and to other of our friends, whereby our innocency was to be cleared,

and any accusation that ill-will to us might have helped the king's commissioners withal to our damage, — the country sent them to Pascataqua, to be sent unto England by one Capt. Harison, a ship that came for masts. The ship had just set sail as the letters came; and the commissioners' letters were in said ship. Master Peirce took his boat with six oars to put those letters aboard, but could not. The said letters went safe by Master Peirce. The said Harison's ship, we hear since, is taken by the Dutch; and so Master Gillam's ship, in which Col. Cartwright returned with all their complaints, though in that ship many merchants lose much, it being laden with the returns.

Floods.

One great flood this winter, which at Pascaque did much hurt in their sawmills, and some small hurt in several parts of the country unto mills; but, at the Dutch plantation between New York and Albany, carried away near sixty houses, many of them fair brick dwelling-houses, and some had much goods in them.

1666, April 5. A day of humiliation appointed by the council, and kept by the churches.

A very wet and cold spring. A snow, April 26; and cold until May 7. The apple-trees put forth leaves but the 10th of May.

June 9. Came in Master Clarke's ship: brought us word of the cessation of the plague at London, but of war with France as well as Holland; also of Dr. John Owen's likely coming hither.[1]

21st. A day of humiliation kept in the churches hereabout.

A very dry summer; most of the grain in the Bay and southward almost scorched up; much Indian eaten up with worms.

[1] See private Diary.

Only at Boston, the caterpillar, which for several years past had devoured their apples, did very little hurt.

12th, 4th. About this time, here came above two hundred persons from Christopher's, and brought the news, that the French had put them to the sword, and, after victory obtained, given them liberty to transport themselves; that Nevis were forced to stand upon their guard. The country took care for supply of those in present want, and for transport to Barbados, or any warm country, of those that desired it, and was not able to pay their own passage.

28th, about this time, at ———, were slain with lightning.

July 15. A Dutch ship of war on our coast took four vessels; viz., two as coming from Virginia, one from Conecticot, one bound to a new plantation, from Newbury.

Aug. 7. Master Peirce came in with several ships for masts for the king. Mr. Maverick had a significavit, under the hand of Secretary Morris, but not superscribed nor sealed, that his majesty's command was, that four or five of chief should be sent to answer in the country's behalf, — of which Gov. Bellingham and Major Hawthorn was to be two, — upon their allegiance.

King's majesty angry.

Aug. 15. *Our private meeting kept as a day of fasting at our house.*

A French ship of a hundred tons brought in as prize by Master Goose, sent out by Sir Thomas Temple.

Sept. 10. Another French ship brought in prize by said Goose, by permission of the country.

Sept. 14. Two French ships brought in prizes by Benjamin Gillam, by permission of the country.

The General Court now sat in council about the significavit, Sept. 12. *The mmm.* [*? ministers*] *and magistrates pray with*

the Governor; call God to guide them what to do.[1] They concluded to write, and send a present, — two brave masts, — but sent no person to answer in our behalf.

Oct. 15. The Court sat again, but continued of the same mind.

30th. Master Clark, Master Peirce, with twenty-one other ships and vessels, sailed out of Nantaskett, all except three of them bound for England, carrying the returns of the country for this year.

Nov. 8 appointed to be kept as a day of thanksgiving throughout the country or colony.

As the cold increased, so did the disease of the small-pox. It became very mortal. Betwixt forty and fifty died in this town of Boston. Several hundreds had it.

Dec. 9. Rev. Mr. Thompson having been a disconsolate man many years, the sabbath before he died he had some lighting of mind. He intended to go to the public meeting, and to administer the supper, which was that day to be celebrated, but was not able to go; and he spent the sabbath in singing and holy duties in his own house. Soon came a cloud again; and, on the ninth day, he died away as a man in a sleep.

16th instant. Upon a sabbath morning, the ice cut the cables of above eight ships, four whereof were ready to sail for England. All forced on shore; and get off they could not until the 2d of 11th month, which was three days after the spring-tides in ordinary course. God, having tried them, set them again at liberty; and, about 11th, they set sail for England with the rest of this year's returns. 12th, 11th.

6th, 1st. Came in Capt. Martin, from England. Brought news of the burning of London in 2d September last.

[1] "It is ordered, that some of the reverend elders, that are or may be in town, be desired to be present with the General Court on the morrow morning, and to begin the Court and spend the forenoon in prayer." — *Col. Rec. Sept.* 11, 1666.

Also that the fleet which sailed hence 30th October were most of them safely arrived.

Sir Robert Carr returned for England in a small ship bound for Bristol. Since, we heard he died[1] as soon as came into England.

21st, 1st, was appointed by the council for a solemn fast through the Colony.

1667. The spring pretty forward. April 12, the apple-trees put forth their leaves.

We are informed, this winter hath been fatal for the small-pox in some places. The Island of Madeira buried.

Our English lost Montser Ratt [Montserrat] this winter, and Antego [Antigua].

We have some noises of late of the mustering of the French situate in Canada, that they, in ('65), came over the lake toward Albanie, and built several forts there.

25th, 3d. Samuel Rugles, of Roxbury, going up the meeting-hill, was struck by lightning, — his two oxen and horse killed; a chest in the cart, with goods in it, burnt in sundry places; himself coming off the cart, carried twenty foot from it, yet no abiding hurt.

Aug. 7. Mr. John Wilson, the reverend pastor of our church, died, being about seventy-eight years old, and, for forty years together, singularly eminent for the exercise of faith and love. Died about four in the morning. Buried eighth day after lecture. Mr. [Richard] Mather preached.

Aug. 16. Our church kept a fast, that the Lord would please to direct us in a right way as to the supplies of our church.

1667, August. Here was a general contribution towards the supply of his majesty's ships now in the Indies to regain Christopher's Island. Capt. John Allen sent with a

[1] June 1, 1667, at Bristol.

shipload, and the freight paid, to be presented to the Lord Willoughby.

Sept. 13. The said ship sailed hence with the "Castle" frigate, one Capt. Ady, master, who came to victual here, and several other ships laden for Barbados.

Sept. 14. A small vessel came in from Ireland, and brought news the ambassadors were returned from the treaty at Bredah, *re infecta*; that the demands of the Dutch was the Islands of Orcades, north of Scotland; ——— Island, in East Indies; free fishing in the narrow seas; to make the act concerning navigation, or prohibiting them trade with our English plantations, void; and an indemnity for all that have assisted them in this war.

About 10th June last, they burnt six great ships of his majesty at Chatham, and carried from thence the "Royal Charles:" made her their admiral.

Nov. 1. But it pleased God to bring intelligence of a peace concluded between England, France, and Holland.

15th. Kept by the Colony a day of thanksgiving.

16th, 18th, 24th, and 27th. Several ships arrived safe from London, with supplies to the country; and such a moderate winter, as that we despatched them, laden with the returns of the country, all by 5th 12th.

Dec. 4. Kept by the Colony a fast appointed by the council, for Christopher's Island, and to obtain blessings for ourselves and England. Many wished it might be changed to a day of thanks; but the council met not, &c.

This winter was exceeding moderate; scarce one extreme cold day, and, a great part of it, very little frost. The sheep, in most places, scarce eat any hay; and the spring came on very forward. Apple-trees began to blossom April 18.

18th of 12th. A comet was seen in the south-west, much like a bundle of twigs or a rod: no star discerned with it. Ap- 1667

peared about seven o'clock in the evening; went down before ten o'clock. It was seen but three or four nights, we supposed partly by reason of dark weather, and also because of the new moon. At the first night, it gave a pretty great light.

1668, April 3. Was an earthquake about nine in the morning, very sensibly to be discerned, yet without any noise. Its continuance was about two minutes.

219 April 14, 15. Was a public dispute between six of our 238
ministers[1] and a company of Anabaptists, in Boston meeting-house, who had, against the laws of the country, gathered themselves into a church. Three of them were excommunicate persons. They had been several times admonished by the Court not to persist in their meeting, or administration of the seals, but charged to hear the word in some of the public congregations; but they would not obey. In the public dispute, they behaved themselves exceeding obstinately, absurdly, and ignorantly. [Two lines of illegible shorthand.]

April 8. Mr. Samuel Shepherd, minister of Rowley, died. His wife died about two months before him.

April 18. The Bridge towne, at Barbados, was burned in the night in five hours.

27th, 2d. Mr. Henry Flynt died, having lain a week sick of a fever; and so the church of Braintree left desolate of their teacher, as before they were bereaved of Mr. Thompson, their pastor.

2d, 3d. At three or four in the afternoon, came Mr. John Davinport to town, with his wife,[2] son, and son's family, and

[1] Allen of Boston, Cobett of Lynn, Higginson of Salem, Danforth of Roxbury, Mitchell of Cambridge, and Shephard of Charlestown. Two days were spent to little purpose. In the close, Master Jonathan Mitchell pronounced that dreadful sentence against them in Deut. chap. xvii. ver. 8–12. (Benedict.)

[2] From New Haven.

was met by many of the town. A great shower of extraordinary drops of rain fell as they entered the town; but Mr. Davinport and his wife were sheltered in a coach of Mr. Searl's, who went to meet them.

2d, 3d, came in John Fairweather, from London; and, 4th of 3d, came in Master John Peirce, Master Hawes, and Master Tytherly, all from England.

This General Court of Election, Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnum,[1] were called before them; asked whether, after all pains taken to convince them of their evils, they would lay down their assemblings, and cease profaning the holy ordinances, — the supper and baptism: but, with great obstinacy, they professed themselves bound to continue in these ways, and were ready to seal it with their blood.

The General Court sent a shipload of masts as a present to the king's majesty.

9th of 5th month. Rev. Mr. Mitchell[2] died, the chief remaining pillar of our ministry.

[1] Members of the first Baptist church in Boston. Gould was its first minister. He was of the Charlestown church. His account of the treatment he received from it is in Benedict, i. 385. "Denying the validity of infant baptism, the Court considered the Baptists as making us all unbaptized persons, and consequently no regular churches, ministers, or ordinances." Gould and his companions were ordered to leave the jurisdiction before the 20th of July. Refusing obedience, they were imprisoned more than a year; after which, Gould went to Noddle's Island, and died in 1675. His name, says Benedict, "ought to be recorded on the tallest page of the history of the New-England Baptists."

"Turner was a member of the church in Dartmouth, England. He accepted a captain's commission in King Philip's war, and lost his life in defence of the Colony in which he was most cruelly oppressed." (Benedict.) Capt. Turner was killed in Philip's war, May 18, 1676.

"Concerning means for the suppression and restraint of these spiritual evils, errors, heresies, &c., as imprisonment, banishment, interdictions, finings, &c. Both reason and experience concur in this demonstration, that such fetters as these, put on the feet of errors and heresies to secure and keep them under, still have proved wings whereby they raise themselves the higher in the thoughts and minds of men, and gain an opportunity of further propagation." (Goodwin's "Theomachia," 1644, quoted by Miall.)

[2] Jonathan Mitchell, minister of Cambridge, aged forty-two.

29th, 5th month. A fast at Cambridge, where Mr. John Eliot preached, and, soon after, fell sick with an eruption of blood, and, in a few weeks, died.

20th of 6th month. Arrived Master Clark's ship in safety, and, soon after, Master Scarlett's. Much English goods brought into the country this year.

Present peace in all Europe; but the Protestants much oppressed in France, and many of their public meeting-places taken from them. The Nonconformists in England have no liberty to preach. Many fears of a massacre from the Popish party in England, heightened from the coming over of Frenchmen in small companies; likewise of the city of London remaining yet, to be again burnt.

Sept. 8 and 9. A general training at Cambridge.

Oct. 13. Mr. John Eliot,[1] pastor of church at New Cambridge, died.

About 26th of 6th, were seen at Wethersfield, a town in Connecticut Colony, a very great swarm of flies, near a mile in breadth and two miles long, thick as bees, taking their course south.

Very temperate winter.

Dec. 9. Mr. Davinport and Mr. Allen ordained. The dissenting brethren[2] humbly, earnestly, and frequently entreated for their dismission before the ordination, but could not obtain it; neither could they, without much trouble, enjoy communion at the table.

Earthquake: not much felt at Boston, but at Lancaster, Concord, Sudbury, &c.

1669. The spring comes on very sweetly: only it was very dry, so much that the ground began to chop.

[1] Son of Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury. His age was thirty-two.

[2] Of the First Church, of whom Hull was one. They formed the Third Church, as below. This passage, though written at another time from that above, alludes to Davenport and Allen's ordination. See Appendix E.

6th, 2d. Sundry ministers met at Charltown to advise whether they[1] ought not to apply themselves to the church, and acquaint them that they were grieved and offended at their refusal to dismiss their brethren, and move at their desire, and endeavor to censure them. That day was a great deal of rain.

13th, 2d. The elders of fifteen churches convened at the request of the dissenting brethren, and sat a council at Boston.

16th, 2d. Gave in their conclusion. The elders and the church refused all their applications to them.

20th, 2d. Rev. Mr. John Reynor, of Dover church, the teacher, died.

23d. Rev. Mr. Richard Mather, teacher of the church at Dorchester, died. The church of Boston would not let him into the doors, when he, with sundry others, waited with a letter from the council to them; but the Lord soon opened his way into the church triumphant.

12th, 3d. The third church in Boston gathered or coalesced in Charltown. Six magistrates opposed it, — R. B., S. S., W. H., J. L., E. L., E. T.[2] Eight magistrates encouraged it; and no ministers opposed, but encouraged, except J. A., J. D., and S. M.[3]

26th, 4th. Rev. Mr. William Woodward, a young but powerful preacher, died at Dedham.

1st, 3d, 4th. Old Boniface Burton died, being a hundred and fifteen years.

5th, 6th. A great wind most part of the night, and in the morning till about ten o'clock, like a hurricane, part at S.E.,

[1] i.e., "the dissenting brethren."

[2] Richard Bellingham, Samuel Symonds, William Hathorne, John Leverett, Eleazar Lusher, Edward Tyng.

[3] James Allen, John Davenport. For S. M., see APPENDIX F.

N.E., N., N.W. Many fishing-boats in the bay much ado to ride, though they cast overboard their ballast, &c.: sundry cast away. A ship of Mr. John Cutts overset on the shoals, and the men all lost.

The spring was very promising for fruitful year, the summer very wet. Many fears that there would be very little hay obtained out of meadows: but all or most of the churches sought the Lord by fasting; and, from about 10th, 6th, the weather continued fair and hot, that those fears were removed. Many children died of the flux and vomiting.

17th 9ber. A day of public thanksgiving throughout the Colony.

9ber. A third meeting-house erected in Boston.[1]

2d, 12th. Mr. Benjamin Bunker, minister at Malden, died.

1670, 16th, 1st. Mr. John Davinport, pastor of the first church in Boston, died.

In the month of June was a strange mortality of fishes in a pond near Cambridge, the manner whereof was wonderful, and the number ——— cartloads.

The summer very droughty.

5th, 6th. A barn at Ipswidge burnt down with lightning, full of corn and hay.

7th, 6th. A great storm of wind, with much rain.

17th, 6th. A church of the Indians gathered at Sandwich. John Bowen[2] ordained the minister.

22d 7ber. A day of public humiliation.

24th 9ber. A day of public thanksgiving.

The winter very moderate.

4th, 12th. Mr. Zachariah Symmes,[3] pastor of Charltown church, died.

[1] The Old South Church.

[2] Probably Bourne.

[3] Aged seven-two. He was the second minister of Charlestown.

23d, 12th. The men of Long Island, this winter, made a hundred or two tuns of oil of whales that they there kill.

1671, 1st, 1st. A day of public humiliation.

4th, 2d. Mr. Francis Willoughby,[1] our honored Deputy-Governor, died.

Mr. William Stoughton, an able preacher and very pious, but not yet persuadable to take any office charge in any church, was chosen into the magistracy, and accepted the same.

5th, 5th. Mr. Urian Oakes arrived here from England for the help of Cambridge church.

Mr. Joshua Moody ordained at Pascataqua. Mr. ——— Reynor[2] likewise at Dover.

A man at Ipswich repeating a sermon, and, because it was darkish, stood at a door or window, as a flash of lightning stunned him; but no hurt. His Bible being under his arm, the whole book of Revelation was carried away, and the other parts of the Bible left untouched.

26th of 6th. Rev. Mr. John Allin, pastor of the church at Dedham, died.

23d of 7th. A church of Indians gathered at Nipmug, or Forty-mile River.

7th 8ber. Mr. James Penn, ruling elder of the first church in Boston, died.

19th 8ber. A day of public thanksgiving.

8ber 21. We received intelligence that William Foster,

[1] Francis Willoughby, Deputy-Governor. He died April 4, 1671 (Farmer), requesting "to be buried one foot deep, and to have the top of the grave plain, only covered with the turfs of the grass." Noadiah Adams describes the manner of his funeral. Eleven foot companies were in attendance, "with the doleful noise of trumpets and drums, in their mourning posture, three thundering volleys of shot discharged, answered with the loud roaring of the great guns, rending the heavens with noise at the loss of so great a man." He resided in Charlestown, was much employed in the business of the Colony, and "a great opposer of the persecutions against the Baptists."

[2] Rev. John Reynor.

master of a small ship, was taken by the Turks as he was going to Bilboa with fish. (He was redeemed, and came home 9ber, 1673.)

9ber 23. In afternoon, the wind came up at east: it snowed fast; and, in the evening, grew exceedingly a very tempestuous night, and much snow. Several vessels lost, yet the persons generally saved. John Harris, with his ketch, put on shore at the Garnet Beach, near Plymouth. About 15th of December, the weather was very moderate, and so continued till 20th of January.

9ber 8. Mr. Urian Oakes was ordained pastor to the church of Cambridge, as successor to the Rev. Mr. Mitchell.

Dec. 27. Mr. Josiah Flynt was ordained pastor to the church at Dorchester, as successor to Mr. Richard Mather. Thus the Lord beginneth to look with an eye of mercy upon the widow state of some of our churches.

Jan. 30. This County Court, three or four young men were convicted of several burglaries in breaking open warehouses, ketches, and cellars; Marry Moor and several, of fornication; some suspected for re-iterated whoredom; and also one Alice Thomas, of great suspicion to keep a brothel-house. The good Lord give check to such wickedness, and grant it be not a punishment judicial! (Hos. iv. 13, 14.)

Jan. 21, 22. The winter returned in severity: the bay full of ice in two nights; cut Master Greenough three cables, sent his ship adrift and another ketch, but continued not, but became pretty moderate again.

19th, 12th. Mr. Charles Chauncey, President of the College, died, being eighty years old, and had been seventeen years president.

1672, 22d, 3d. The General Court kept a fast among themselves, and five ministers appointed to carry on the work of it, and many other ministers present.

June 14 was kept as a day of humiliation in all this Colony, because of a great drought; and the Lord heard prayer, and sent sufficient rain, that recovered those fruits that were near gone, and nourished all the rest. Yet, in hay-harvest, much hay was lost by an overmuch rain.

July 8. Dr. Leonard Hoar arrived at Boston from London, being sent for by the third church in Boston: but, the President of the College being dead, it was the earnest desire of the ministers and magistrates that they would spare him for that work; and, upon Nov. 15, they did yield him up to that service.[1]

13th, 5th. Mr. Alexander Nowell, a Fellow of the College, died.

July 19. Two dwelling-houses, with some other warehouses, were burned in Boston; and it was a very great deliverance of the whole town, because the wind carried broad flakes of fire, being cedar-shingles and clapboards, over a great many houses, and kindled upon sundry of them. But, help being at hand, they were preserved. Fire was carried into the Common a full quarter of a mile from the place burned, being James Hill's and John Wallie's houses.[2] Sundry deliverances this year also of this town from fire. Fires.

This summer, very many in most parts of the country, from west to east, from south to north, were taken with agues; and it proved mortal to many. And at the latter end of the year, about October, some was thought to have the spotted fever about Ipswige, Wenham, Diseases.

[1] A letter from Hon. John Quincy Adams — see Appendix A — speaks of a volume of MS. Reports of Leonard Hoar's sermons during this period, which, in 1839, he saw in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. We have not been able to find this MS., which is perhaps by Hull.

[2] See private Diary at this date.

and Salem; and then Rev. Mr. Antipas Newman, pastor of the church at Wenham, died 15th of 8th mo.

Eclipse of sun. Aug. 12. About noon, there was a great eclipse of the sun, total or very near.

15th, 8th. The divisions of the church of Newbury were a matter of great exercises to the churches and ministers, and to the General Court, many too much abetting one Edmund Woodman and his party; viz., about five magistrates, and above twenty deputies, and two ministers; viz., Mr. James Allin and Mr. John Oxenbridge: but it pleased God in 9ber 8, by a committee sent by the General Court, they were convinced, and both parties united.

9ber 20. Appointed by the General Court for a day of public thanksgiving throughout this Colony.

9ber 14. Sergeant-Major Eleazer Lusher, one of our honored magistrates, died; and, 18th 9ber, was honorably interred, attended by ten foot-companies and three troops of horse, at Dedham.

Deaths.

Sundry persons died, in 7ber and 8ber, of voiding much blood and some worms, — persons of grown age and young men.

9ber 10. A very great easterly storm, and, being about the full moon, brought in so great a tide as hath not been this thirty-six years; filled most of the cellars near the water-side; flowed more or less into many warehouses; greatly damnified many merchants in their goods and in their wharves; and one vessel cast away in Ipswidge Bay, going to Black Point, and seven persons drowned thereby.

Tempests.

This summer, we hear of war against the Hollanders by the French and our own nation; and, 29th of May, had a great sea-fight, wherein the Hollander was much worsted, yet great loss to all parties; and this summer,

Wars.

the French, by land, hath much prevailed against the Hollander, and taken much of their country.

Dec. 24. Appointed and kept as a public fast throughout this Colony.

Dec. 7. Richard Bellingham, Esq., the honored Governor of the Colony, departed this life.

11th, 10th. Dr. Leonard Hoar constituted President of the College.

A very moderate winter, excepting two weeks of cold. Mr. John Winthrop recovered again, though buried his wife.[1]

1673, 21st of the 1st. We received intelligence from Barbados, that upon 24th, 11th, was burned above thirty houses, in the night, in the street called the New-England Street.

21st of the 1st. Our Castle fell on fire, and was burned; only the powder saved, and most of the officers' and soldiers' goods.

22d, 1st. The magistrates, in Boston and the towns adjacent, issued out an order for a contribution of fifteen hundred pounds to repair it speedily.

1673, 29th of 1st. Mr. Thomas Prince, Governor of Plymouth Colony, died, — a man wise, faithful, loving, modest, and humble.

The months of March and April were very cold. Many cattle died throughout most parts of the country, men's stover being very short, much hay being lost last autumn by great rains and high tides. The wind continued easterly almost all the month of April. Most part of May was cold.

[1] The Governor of Connecticut, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, is the John Winthrop alluded to. A sketch of his life will be found in the Memoir of Lieut.-Gov. Thomas Lindall Winthrop, President of the American Antiquarian Society, contained in this volume.

18th May, at Wenham, a solemn providence: It being the sabbath day, Mr. Higginson, sen., preached there; and after sermon, going into Mrs. Newman's with several Christians, as they sat discoursing, there was a storm of hail, with thunder, and one man in the house struck dead, yet none other hurt; but the house, in another room, much split in the posts, &c.

June 13. A day of humiliation in this Colony.

Some troubles this summer arose in the College, so that Dr. Leonard Hoar, their new president, who was last year highly courted to accept the place, was now by some wished out of it again. I cannot say there was any apparent cause for it, more than that God seems to threaten to make division in all orders our punishment, as we too readily do make them our sin.

July 30. The Dutch took New York from the English.

August. We was also alarmed with an enemy, and therefore made considerable haste to rebuild our burned castle, and renew the fortifications in the towns bordering on the sea, specially Boston, Charltown, Salem, and Pascataque. The Dutch came with seven men of war and twelve other ships, where, by the way, they did much spoil in Verginiah to their ships, and came and took New York in August, which was indeed very ill kept, else might have been still kept; and, the beginning of this winter, the Dutch took four of our ketches, and, being demanded, refused to deliver them or pay for them; made a demand of the inhabitants at the east end of Long Island to yield, and come under their government; that, had not the winter come suddenly, we might probably had a war with them. But all is yet deferred; and, indeed, many in this part of the country, specially inland towns, are very averse to war, yet, through

mercy, a general sense of the anger of God appearing in this threatening, and the issue unknown to us.

Three sessions of the General Court this winter, — September, October, December.

In the last year and this, during the continuance of the war with the Dutch nation, our country hath lost very many vessels and a very considerable estate; being taken by the Dutch in all parts where we trade or are going to the ports of our traffic. They make no difference between New England and Old.

28th, 6th, was a public fast: one cause, the Dutch come so near; another cause, great floods drowning the meadows.

9ber 26. A public day of thanksgiving for the peaceable and comfortable inning of the fruits of the earth.

Dec. 3. Mr. ——— Adams[1] ordained pastor to the church of Dedham.

Dec. 11. A fast to implore the Lord's guidance and protection, now an enemy was come so near us, and also had begun to do us spoil. They took four ketches. The Dutch at New York went beyond us in statecraft. They had taken several of our vessels; and here were some of theirs staid, though not feared: but they, by a flourishing promise to set ours free in case theirs were released; which we attended, but they kept all ours.

11th, 12th. A fast only at the North Church.

The winter very moderate as to frost; pretty much snow and wet weather.

Division began at Salem between Mr. ——— Nicolet,[2] a

[1] William Adams, second minister of Dedham, graduated 1671; died Aug. 17, 1685.

[2] Rev. Charles Nicholet. He had a call from a new church gathered at Lynn, but was not settled, and soon after went to England. (Farmer.)

stranger, who came, about July, 1672, from Virginia, and supposed in part invited by Mr. Higginson, but now afflictive to good Mr. John Higginson. [He] went out of the church in sermon-time, on the Lord's Day, and drew others after him. Yet he seemed to be a zealous preacher, and, at least outwardly, humble man, and full of affection, though peradventure less fully fixed in some truths.

26th, 12th. Difficulties began again in the College. Overseers meet.

1674, 2d, 1st. Committee meet at Cambridge.

26th, 1st. A public fast.

In April, we had the good news of peace concluded between England and Holland, being done in February last.

This summer, the Anabaptists that were wont to meet at Noddle's Island met at Boston on the Lord's Day. One Mr. Symond Lind[1] letteth one of them a house, which formerly was Mr. Ruck's.

Some Quakers are also come and seated in Boston.

Some of the magistrates will not permit any punishment to be inflicted on heretics as such.

Sept. 24. A public day of thanksgiving.

October. At this General Court, the President of the College was charged as formerly, but with more vehemency, as the only hinderer of the college welfare; when, as by most indifferent hearers of the case, it was thought, that, would those that accused him had but countenanced and encouraged him in his work, he would have proved the best president that ever yet the college had.

9ber 30. Rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth, pastor of the church of Roxbury, died.

[1] Lynde, afterwards one of the magistrates. He was employed as translator and interpreter to the Court in their intercourse with the Dutch. He died Nov. 21, 1687.

Dec. 8. Some endeavors to gather a church of some new members at Salem, to whom Mr. Nicholet should officiate, who met at Lynn, and proceeded so far that they had seven messengers from Boston Old Church; but four of them, having declared God's workings on them, showed so much of ignorance that their proceeding was hindered.

Dec. 15. A fast at Roxbury.

The weather began this month cold, but grew pretty temperate for three weeks together.

Dec. 23. Mr. Nehemiah Hubbard[1] ordained a pastor to the church at New Cambridge.

29th. Mr. Oxenbridge, pastor of the Old Church, died.

A fast at the Old Church. Mr. Increase Mather helped.

A Scotch minister, Mr. Woodrop,[2] arrived from Jamaica.

Much snow in the 11th month, and several cold fits most of this month; yet the harbors, nor Charles Ferry, scarce shut up from passage any one day.

14th, 11th. A fast at the Old Church, where Mr. Increase Mather helped in preaching and prayer.

From 15th, 12th, to 22d, very cold; 19th, 20th, 21st, as cold a time as in many years, and so dry and windy that the dust blew like snow.

1675. All the 1st month pretty cold; the 2d month very raw and cold until 21st day; then began to be a little warm, and the sun to shine, which it had done but now and then a day for a month together; wind had been constantly easterly.

May 3. Peach-trees blossomed.

In the first month, a murder committed about Pascataque.

[1] The name of *Hobart* was often thus confounded with Hubbard. He was the second minister of Newton, and died Aug. 12, 1712.

[2] William *Woodroffe*, an ejected English minister, "preached at Lancaster, Springfield, and other places, between 1670 and 1680." (Farmer.)

A Scotchman and a Frenchman killed their master, buried him in a cellar; for which they were both executed at Boston.

25th, 1st. A public fast.

April 20. A man found dead near Brantrey, cast upon shore: on search, found to be murdered and to be a Virginian.

4th of 3d. A (part of a) ship belonging to Lyme, this morning arrived from Virginia, was blown up; viz., the great cabin. Sundry wounded sorely; Mr. John Frethe taken up dead; Mr. Smith, the merchant, died the same day; Capt. Sam. Scarlet,[1] the next day. Their bones much shattered. Sundry others with broken bones, and sorely hurt.

5th, 3d. One ———, a merchant, of a ship from Lisbon riding at Nantascot, sailing in the boat yesterday, about the time that the other ship was blown up here, they overset the boat, and he was drowned. Brought up to Boston this day.

All the month of May very wet, only now and then a fair day. The 4th, 5th, and 6th months hot and dry for most part, yet pretty fruitful.

June 25, brake out a war with the Indians. It began at Swanzey, but ran through most of the out plantations. We got no victory over them, without some considerable loss, for about ten months after. The Lord, from beginning of May, 1676, delivered them frequently into our hands, without loss on our part.

See the history of the war, printed 1676.

29th, 4th. A public fast.

Several churches also fast at several times.

Aug. 29. A very violent storm, that exceedingly blew down the Indian corn and the fruit of trees; did also much

[1] Captain Scarlet is often mentioned by Hubbard and in this Diary, and made many voyages to and from London.

spoil on the wharves, and among the ships and vessels in Boston, to value supposed a thousand pounds.

13th of 11th. A public fast.

Nov. 28. Dr. Leonard Hoar, President of the College,[1] died.

Winter came in exceeding sharp in beginning.

December. The soldiers conflicted with much cold and snow.

Several particular fasts this year.

Feb. 10. Lancaster spoiled by the enemy.

21st. Medefeild in part burned by ditto.

March 13. Groton burned.

26th. Marlborough burned in part.

1676, 28th. Rehoboth assaulted.

April 6. John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of Conecticot, died in Boston.

April 18. Sudbury part burned by the enemy. Capt. Wadsworth, Capt. Brooklebanck, and sundry soldiers, slain.

The second and third months were very sickly through this Colony.

April 25. Major Symon Willard, one of our magistrates, died, — a pious, orthodox man.

Mr. Peter Lidget died, — an accomplished merchant.[2]

May 8. Some houses burnt at Bridgewater.

11th. Some also *toward* Plymouth.

May 14. Mr. Hezekiah Usher died, — a pious and useful merchant.

[1] "My cousin, the Dr. Hoar's widow, is married to Mr. Hezekiah Usher." (Hull to Edward Hull, Jan. 1, 1676–7, in Hull's letter-book.)

[2] Hull writes to Philip French, April 19, 1676: "This month hath been very fatal to N. E. Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, died on the 5th day thereof. On the 21st, valiant Capts. Wadsworth and Brocklebank, with about fifty soldiers, were slain by the Indians. On 25th, Mr. Simon Willard died of a fever, at Charlestown; and, 24th, our good friend and partner, Mr. Peter Lidget, died of a fever, at Boston. And who shall be next, the good Lord alone knoweth."

15th. Mr. Richard Russell died, — a magistrate and the Country Treasurer; a godly man.

16th. Mr. Joshua Attwater died.

18th. The Fall fight: many Indians slain.[1]

24th. Capt. William Davis[2] died.

June 29. A day of public thanksgiving.

Aug. 12. Sagamore Philip, that began the war, was slain.[3]

8ber 31. One William Stoughton, Esq., one of our honored magistrates, and Mr. Peter Bulkley, sent as our messengers to England to the king's majesty.[4]

9ber 9. A day of public thanksgiving.

27th. A fire brake out two hours before day, and consumed about fifty dwelling-houses and the North Meeting-house. The Lord sent much rain, moderated the spreading of it.

Dec. 7. A public fast.

21st. Mr. John Reynor, minister of Dover, died of a cold and fever that he took in the field among the soldiers.

1677, 1st of 1st. A public fast.

9th of 1st month. A candle was fastened to the roof of a house, and burnt through the roof, yet was prevented

[1] The fight at the falls in the Connecticut River, near Greenfield, where Capt. Turner surprised and slew a large number of Indians, is commonly referred to as the "*Fall Fight.*"

[2] Captain of the Artillery Company. He commanded a company in Ninegret's war, was a deputy for Springfield in 1658, and married a daughter of William Pynchon.

[3] In Hull's letter-book, at this date, is this announcement: "Oct. 28, 1676. Here news come in from Virginia that they are more furiously engaged one against another than formerly. They tell us Jamestown is burned, and sundry slain. So that several intended hence for those parts do intend to lay aside their beginnings of such a voyage." (Hull to Allin).

[4] An unsuccessful mission; and the agents returned to be reproached by their constituents. Bulkley was charged with too great compliance with Court measures; and his "sun," like that of Norton, "set in a cloud." Stoughton was afterwards solicited to accept the agency, but "could not be prevailed on to risk his reputation a second time." (Hutchinson.)

spreading through the wonderful providence of God; but the authors not known.

June 25. Soldiers sent to Black Point; Major Thomas Clarke, with three vessels, both thither and to Kenibeck, to treat with Capt. Nicolds from New York.

July 5. A public fast.

12th, 5th. A barn of Mr. John Usher's burnt down about one o'clock in the night. The houses round about all preserved. The authors not known.

Aug. 6. A candle lighted found stuck between two little houses of Mr. Bradon's, in Mr. Shrimpton's lane, about ten o'clock at night.

8th of 6th. A like endeavor to fire the town in Mr. Usher's lane. The hay in a barn fired; but, being salt-marsh hay, it smothered, and did not hastily burn. About eleven o'clock at night, it was quickly quenched. No authors found.

Some time this summer, several ships came in from England, which, on the seas, had the small-pox; and it took first in Charltown, whereof many died this winter.

9ber 15. A public day of thanksgiving.

Dec. 22. Mr. Thomas Shepherd[1] died of the small-pox.

Several particular churches kept fasts this winter.

Jan. 11. Mr. Samuel Brackenbury, physician, died of the small-pox.

10th. Mrs. Mary Norton[2] fell speechless.

17th. She died, and, 21st, was interred in her husband's tomb.

This winter was mostly moderate weather.

Feb. 21. A public fast.

1678, 24th, 1st. Mr. Thomas Walley, pastor of Barnstable, died.

[1] Minister of Charlestown. [2] Widow of Rev. John Norton.

April 26. Mr. Noah Newman, pastor of the church at Rehoboth, died.

May 18. Mr. Joseph Brown, preacher at Charltown, died.

June 1. The captives taken by the Indians last winter from Hatfield, and carried to the French, were followed by Benjamin Wait and Thomas Jennings,[1] husbands to two of the women, who effected their redemption, and returned home with them. An order of the council for a contribution for them on the fast day, 6th, 4th.

June 6. A public fast in this Colony. The small-pox, since they first began, had seized upon about ——— persons; and about forty persons were dead of that disease. In Charltown, about so many also died since it began there, being in 5th month, '77, to this time. Above two hundred persons had had the disease there.

June 22. Mr. Edmund Brown, pastor of the church at Sudbury, died.

Sept. 22. To this time, there were about eighty persons at Charltown that died of the small-pox, and about seven hundred that have had the disease.

Oct. 3. To this time, there was about one hundred and eighty persons had died in Boston of the small-pox, in a little above a year's space since the disease began.

Oct. 12. Samuel Symonds, Esq., the Deputy-Governor, died in Boston, the General Court sitting.

Oct. 16. Mr. Thomas Thacher, senior pastor to the third church in Boston, died.

9ber 24. Mr. Joseph Rowlison (Rowlandson), minister at Wethersfield, died.

[1] "Having received authority from the government to ransom the captives, they commenced their hazardous journey on the 24th of October, and followed the enemy through New York, by the lakes, to Canada. They returned, after an absence of eight months, with nineteen of the prisoners." (Barber.)

4th, 11th. Mr. Daniel Russell, young minister, died of the small-pox.

23d, 11th. Mr. Peter Hubbard (Hobart), pastor of Hingham church, died.

Mr. John Norton succeedeth in his place.

Feb. 1. Mr. Ammy Corlet, Fellow of the College, died of the small-pox.

Dec. 27. One David Wyman, of Wooborn, taken with the small-pox, was distracted, and ran out of his bed barefoot, in his shirt, five miles to a friend's house. There was put into bed, but after died.

March 16. John Leverett, Esq., Governor of this Colony, died about four o'clock, on a sabbath morning.

1679, May 8. A fire kindled under Capt. Ben. Gillam's warehouse, supposed by most to be done on purpose to fire the town.

May 9. About midnight, the house of Clement Gross, being an alehouse, was set on fire in an out-room, yet, through God's good providence, was instantly seen and put out; but no author to be found.

Aug. 8. About midnight began a fire in Boston, an alehouse, which, by sunrise, consumed the body of the trading part of the town: from the Mill Creek to Mr. Oliver's dock, not one house nor warehouse left; and up from my warehouse to Mr. Skerret's,[1] thence to Mr. Hezekiah Usher's, thence to Mr. Thacher's, thence to Thomas Fitch's.

This year, Mr. James Elson, with his ship and her lading, bound from London to Boston, was taken by the Algerines.

Sept. 7, being sabbath, about ten o'clock, all the churches were alarmed with a fire in Lieut. Edward Creek's house, which began in a garret, not near the chimney, but must

[1] This word seems to have been partly erased.

needs be set on fire. The wind pretty strong; yet it pleased God no house but that was burned.

Sept. 10. A synod of churches, by their elders and messengers, met at Boston. Voted the platform of discipline drawn at Cambridge, an. 1648, unanimously; also representing to the General Court what they conceived to be the provoking evils of this people, propounding also remedies. Adjourned till May, 1680. Ordered a committee of elders to draw up a confession of faith for these churches.

Nov. 22. Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright, pastor of the church of Salisbury, departed this life, being eighty-five years of age.

Dec. 10. Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting, pastor of the church of Lin [Lynn], departed this life, being eighty-two years old.[1]

Dec. 23. Honored William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, Esqrs., arrived from England in Thomas Jolls, in Nantascut harbor, and could not get to Boston (till) the evening after 25th day, a strong north-west wind arising soon after they had cast anchor below. Much mercy appeared in their being harbored before it arose.

Master William Condy and his ship, bound from Boston to London, was taken by the Algerines.

March 17. The second church in Boston solemnly renewed their covenant.

1680, 23d, 4th. The third church in Boston solemnly renewed their covenant.

[1] "Sir, I know I need not beg your prayers for poor New England: you cannot withhold them, no more than we here ours for dear England. Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright, pastor of Salisbury church, and Mr. Samuel Whiting, pastor of Linn church, are lately gathered home. We have few of our old stock left, and likewise have lost many young worthy ones. But yet the Lord showeth us his faithfulness in continuing a succession of able and faithful ministers to lead and guide his poor flocks in this wilderness; and many of them are very intoned in their Lord's work, to call in the rising generation, and to whet upon them his end in all his awful providences." (Hull to Henry Ashurst, Dec. 17, 1679, in Letter-Book.)

Aug. 16. Elder Edward Rainsford[1] died, being old and full of days.

Aug. 24. The Lord Thomas Culpepper[2] came into Boston privately; but, the next day, he dined at the Town House, and was attended by the eight military companies, and, about Oct. 15, sailed hence for England.

A peace made with the Eastern Indian sachems by Thomas Danforth, Esq., and after, in beginning of November, with the Maquas at Albany, by John Pynchon, Esq.

Sept. 15. A fast at Dorchester church. Mr. Josiah Flynt, pastor thereof, very sick, and died the night following, about ten o'clock.

Sept. 19, being sabbath day, about four o'clock afternoon, a fire was discovered in the top of the old meeting-house, in the uppermost private room, where the clock stood. Began in the floor, ran up the partition-boards to the roof, began to burn a principal rafter about six foot from the place where it began.

Nov. 15. A blazing star appeared in the south-east in the morning; and, about Dec. 8, it began to be seen in the evening.[3]

9ber 22. A chimney fired, and frighted people; but no hurt followed, save a man wounded with a fall, the ladder breaking.

24th. Mr. Usher's chamber on fire in the night, by their own neglect; but no public damage ensued.

25th. A day of public thanksgiving in this Colony.

[1] Brother of Lord Chief Justice Rainsford. ? ~ 1630 , 160

John Hull, writing from England, March, 1676, says, "Judge Rainsford, brother to him of Boston, is said to be one of their (the Nonconformists') bitterest enemies. Might not his brother have power over him to move him to some moderation?" Rainsford's Island derives its name from him. (Letter-Book.)

[2] Governor of Virginia.

[3] "On the 16th appeared a blazing comet in the morning, and now is seen with us in the evening, with a very long stream. The Lord fit us and you for all his will and pleasure!" (Hull to Thomas Deane, Dec. 27, in Letter-Book.)

About 8ber 18, Sir Edmund Andros came hither, supposed to see Lord Th. Culpeper; but he was sailed for England. He staid about a week, and departed, being accompanied with our troop to Dedham.

Dec. 16. A day of public humiliation.

18th. Josiah Winslow, Esq., Governor of Plymouth Colony, died, being ——— years of age.

Dec. 15. Arrived Master Foy and Master Jenner, and brought Mr. Christopher Mason and one Mr. Chamberlain, and brought letters for the country from the king's majesty. It was drawn and prepared by some lords. It required us, on our allegiance, to send agents, fully empowered, &c.

Dec. 21. John Russell,[1] a preacher to the Anabaptists, died suddenly, after a pamphlet of his in excuse of themselves, and accusing the churches here of persecution, [appeared.]

Dec. 22. About half an hour past three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Sampson Sheaffe's[2] house fell on fire by some neglect within. Some of them were forced to leap out of the chamber-window; yet all their lives preserved. Two other houses were burned with it, and one blown up; and about half an hour after five, the same morning, Mr. Mich. Page his ship, lying at Capt. Ben. Gillam's wharf, fell on fire by a bad hearth, and was not mastered without much damage to the ship and lading and to said Gillam's warehouse.

Jeremie Mather was blown into a cellar, and had his thigh broken and his head bruised.

16th of 11th, being sabbath day, toward the close of the afternoon exercise, a smoke was discovered in Major William

[1] Minister of the Boston Baptist church.

[2] Afterwards of New Hampshire, and a member of the council there. He died at Boston, in 1724, æt. seventy-six.

Phillips's house. It appeared plain that somebody had put fire with chips in a window in the cellar, which was left without any door shut, and had only wood and lumber in it; but, being found, it had only scorched the stanchions of the window, and so was soon quenched. But, as yet, nobody was found as the endeavorer of that mischief.

Feb. 1. Benjamin Negus his house, joining to William Kent's, was set on fire near the top of the roof, about ten o'clock in the day, the County Court then sitting in the Town House just by it; but it being a rainy day, and many hands ready, it was soon quenched.

We have had sundry sudden deaths fallen out in several parts of the country.

July 7. A public fast throughout this Colony.

July 24. Mr. Urian Oakes, pastor of Cambridge church and President of the College, departed this life.

Aug. 31. A fast at Cambridge. Another at the College.

Nov. 24. A day of public thanksgiving through this Colony; the Lord giving a competent harvest, notwithstanding the great threatening drought. 1681

Feb. 16. Major Thomas Savage died, being aged seventy-six years.

1682, June 26. All this evening and night, till about one o'clock, was very dreadful lightning and pretty much thunder.

28th. Mr. John Danforth ordained pastor of the church of Dorchester.

Aug. 16. A comet appeared in our hemisphere in the morning, and, 27th, in the evening, and so continued. It had but little stream or blaze.

Aug. 20. Mr. Isaak Foster, pastor of a church at Hartford, died in his prime or youth.

Sept. 20. Daniel Dennison, Esq., having served the country many years as an assistant and a major-general, died.

[Here the Public Diary suddenly stops. It will be observed that the entries grow more rare toward the close. The letters in the Letter-Book go on to the 18th of August, 1683, — nearly a year after the entries here, and within six weeks of Mr. Hull's death. Among these, the Committee of Publication find little of public interest, beyond what has been alluded to in the "Memoir." The following letters, however, are of value, and illustrate the character of the Treasurer at a late period of his life.]

Boston, May 21, 1683.

Mr. Richard Rook, — Forasmuch as you and your company are now fitted and governed, upon a voyage to the wrack or wracks with the sloop "Endeavor," now that you may not render all your preparations and disbursements frustrate; but may, if the Lord will, be very successful and advantageous to yourselves and us, — we solemnly advise you to take heed and carefully avoid all and every sinful way to which evil will bring sorrow and suffering to poor mortals, and especially sorrowing of religion, the sabbath, and all religious duties; for though God may bear awhile with wicked sinners, yet he will arise and execute vengeance, and sometimes when men least think of it. First, therefore, we pray you to look heedfully and daily, all the time you are abroad, to your own example, that you do not swear, nor take the Lord's holy name in vain; that you be very temperate; that you be very diligent; that you be very prudent, just, and equal in your behaviour toward all your company, and especially to your companions, Mr. Savage

and Mr. Lester, and toward other ship's company; that you may, if possible, have the good-will and love of all that you shall converse withal, and may the better proceed and succeed. In all your affairs, see that you keep your articles carefully, and that you break no law of nature, of nations, of God. And, moreover, we give you our special charge, that you do not bring upon yourself, nor the company, neither upon the owners, any part of the guilt of innocent blood; for truly we fear the taking Indians by force is man-stealing, and to kill any of them in that design will involve in the guilt of blood, which I would have you and us keep far from, and walk humbly and mournfully under a deep sense of what passed formerly; although, indeed, we ourselves are but very darkly acquainted what the wrackmen did. And we shall add no more, but pray God to give you that counsel, protection, success, and blessing that he seeth meet for you, and in his due time to return you to us again, who are Yours,

JOHN HULL.

BOSTON, May 16, 1683.[1] ELIAKIM HUTCHISON.

Mr. RICHARD ROOK, Mr. PEREZ SAVAGE, and Captain FRANCIS LESTER, — We shall only tell you, that we heartily desire your welfare, and are therefore bold to send you our present advice. We doubt not but you will make all speed to the wrack, where, when the Lord shall bring you, we desire this as your daily, constant care, to love and assist and do your utmost help each other; be united yourselves, and do your utmost to keep your whole company; so keep your articles, and be willing to consort with any good civil ship's officers and company; and, if God's providence see need you generally, we think it will be very profitable to

[1] This letter has two dates in the Letter-Book.

agree to send home the treasure in some vessel, which may be kept here safe without cutting, until you have all with consent ended your voyage, and come home hither to share; and, upon the credit of it, provisions may be brought and sent you for each vessel, according to your need, and bill of lading for each ship's port, with distinct marks, according to what you shall desire. Be very careful to maintain his majesty's peace, and to break no law of nature nor nations, especially of Old England and New. In attending to the law of God, and making his word your rule, you will keep all. Which, that you may be helped to do, let you and us daily go unto Him who hath all grace freely to bestow, that we may be guided, prospered, blessed, and in his good time safely returned. In him we remain your loving friends, and owners of three fourths of the ———.

JOHN HULL.
ELIAKIM HUTCHISON.

[The earliest part of Judge Sewall's Diary supplies a few memoranda respecting the old man's declining years, which may properly be inserted here. We are indebted for these to Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington. The critical skill of this gentleman has restored the Latin of the second entry from the almost incomprehensible text in which it exists in the copies of the Diary now extant. The original Sewall Diary of this period is lost.]

Feb. 7, '76 [1676–7]. Went to ye 12 meeting [for prayer, &c., which he had attended], at Mr. Morse his house; where Mr. Gershom Hobart [afterward or then minister of Groton] spake well to James 1. 19.

Feb. 14. 13th meeting [he had attended] at Goodm. Davis's [Joseph]; where G. [Goodman Joseph] Tappin and

Cousin [Ephraim] Savage spake to 1 Pet. 1. 6. By which words I seriously considered y^t^ no godly man hath any more afflictions than what he hath need of: qua meditatione mihi quidem die sequente usus fuit; nam socer (jam pene fervidus propter avenas sibi inconsulto oblatas) de stipite aequo grandiore quem in ignem intempestive (ut aiebat) conjeci, mihi iratus fuit, & si ita insipiens forem dixit se mihi fidem non habiturum, et ventosam mentem meam fore consativam. Deus det me sibi soli confidere, & creato nulli. Psal. 37. 3, 4, 5. principium hujus psal. canebam conscius, quem propter ea quae dicta sunt moestus petivi.

[Of this curious entry, Rev. Mr. Sewall informs us that the copyist has probably erroneously transcribed some words; for he was in times at doubt, and, in the margin, gave a different reading for *oblatas*, *conjeci*, *fidem*, and *consativam*. Mr. Sewall adds, —

"The general meaning of the passage, however, with the aid of a little conjecture, seems to be plainly this: Mr. Hull, being *much chafed* (pene fervidus, almost glowing with passion) at some one's bringing oats to him, as Treasurer of the Colony, in payment of taxes, instead of *money*, 'inconsulto,' without having previously consulted him, was angry with his son-in-law, Sewall, for throwing upon the fire, unseasonably, as he said, a larger billet of wood than was necessary or meet; and declared, that, if he would be so foolish, he should have no confidence in him: for that his mind would be as unstable as if it were akin to the wind.[1]

"Now, all that Mr. Hull here said was doubtless said in a moment of irritation, which had been kindled by another

[1] "Here retaining *consativam*, I construe *ventosam* as if changed to vento; but I doubt whether consativam was the word used in the original, though I can think of no similar word to substitute for it."

occurrence, and soon subsided. But Mr. Sewall, always sensitive to every thing that looked like contempt or reproach, laid these words of his father-in-law much to heart; and, feeling that the severity of the reprimand was unprovoked and unmerited, he had recourse, for instruction or admonition, to the doctrine of the text discussed at 'the meeting' the preceding evening; and for consolation to the 37th Psalm, which, in his sorrow, he turned to for the sake of the things said therein (or on account of the things which had been said to him), and the beginning of which, conscious of his not deserving the censure passed on him, he sang."]

1676 [1676–7], Feb 21. Went to ye 13th meeting,[1] at Cousin E[phraim] Savage's; where my father-in-law and Goodm. Needham spake to Ps. 6. 1.[2]

Feb. 23, 1676 [1676–7]. Mr. Torrey [Rev. Samuel, of Weymouth] spake wth my father at Mrs. Norton's; told him y. he would fain have me preach, and not leave off my studies to follow merchandize.

March 21, 167$\frac{8}{7}$. Father & self rode to Dorchester to y^{e} Fast, which is y^{e} first time y^{t} ever I was in y^{t} [new] meeting-house; so was absent from y^{e} private meetings.

April 18, 1677. My father-in-law and I went on foot to Dorchester, and so were not at y^{e} meeting.[3]

[1] So the copy; but the preceding meeting has also the 13th.

[2] In his own Diary, Hull never alludes to his own speaking at these meetings.

[3] Rev. Mr. Sewall informs us, that, on this day, there was a Solemn Public Renewal of their Covenant by the church in Dorchester. Judge Sewall has left notes of the sermons preached on the occasion, by Rev. Mr. Flint in the morning, and by Rev. Mr. Torrey, of Weymouth, in the afternoon.

The meeting which Mr. Sewall and Mr. Hull failed to attend was not the customary service of the Lord's Day. The 18th of April, 1677, was Wednesday; and, says Mr. Sewall, "the meeting they were absent from was a meeting, repeatedly referred to by Judge Sewall in the previous part of his Diary, for prayer and religious conference, sustained for many years by his father Hull and himself, Capt. Scottow, Capt. Ephraim Savage, Mr. Nathaniel Williams (the preacher and master of the Latin Grammar School, Boston, with and after Mr. Cheever), Capt. James

. [According to the funeral sermon, alluded to in the "Memoir," Mr. Hull died Oct. 1, 1683. The date is fixed a day earlier in Mr. Daniel Gookin's "Shadie Meditations" on his memory. We have this curious poem, as copied from the original for us by Rev. Mr. Sewall. It has never been printed before]: —

"A Few Shadie Meditations occasi-
"oned by the Death of the Deservedly
"Honoured John Hull Esq.r who was
"removed from his earthly tabernacle
"to be an Inhabitant of that house
"not made with hands eternall in
"the Heavens *Sept:* 30 : 1683.[1]

"Great Worthies merit well the Pens & pains
"Of Noblest Wits with high poetick strains
"To write to speake y.r virtues & to tell
"Of choice perfections wherein they excell,
"Wherein they are fair patterns to the Age,
"In which they live & act upon the stage;
"They living this to merit may be said,
"Injustice only keeps it back when dead;
"How great injustice then may all Esteeme
"Penurious silence is, when such a theam
"So fairly is propos'd, a theam that might
"Matter for Volumes yeeld; No Parasite

Hill, Capt. Henchman, Capt. Wing, and ten or a dozen more, men of note in Boston at that day. They met at each other's houses, alternately, on *Wednesday evening*, once a fortnight, sometimes once a week; and the exercises were prayer, and the exposition of a text of Scripture, which was given out at the previous evening, and 'spoken to' by each member in his turn, and sometimes by a minister who gave them his company. This was '*the meeting*' from which Mr. Hull and his son-in-law were absent, on Wednesday, April 18, 1674; and the reason of their absence doubtless was, that they had gone on foot to attend *Dorchester Lecture*, which was held on Wednesday (though not weekly, like the Boston Thursday Lecture, but only, I believe, once a month), and were too cold and weary, or too late, on their return, to attend their private meeting too."

[1] "The Meditations" are inscribed on the back, by Judge Sewall, "Cous. Dan.l. Gookin on my Father Hull." The paper containing them therefore, written in a different hand, gives us, doubtless, the *original* verses, not a *copy*, written by Rev. Mr. Gookin himself. — [*Rev. Mr. Sewall.*]

"Is craved here with's oylie tongue to vent
"Flattering Encomiums of y^e. Man that's meant.

"What can be said or what we can devise
"Of the truly Noble, of y^e. Just & Wise
"Of Such as famous are & Eminent
"For princely piety whose hearts are bent
"Are wholly bent for God for heav'n while here,
"To whom heav'ns high & Glorious Ends are deare,
"May all be said of Him Unfeigned Lover
"Of pious wages, & yet too much wee cover.

"What can be said of th' Liberall heart & hand
"That liberall things contrives which make him Stand,
"That Him that's Poor is ready to befriend,
"And hath a happy, honourable End,
"That Naked, hungry, Thirsty, Christ releeves
"From whom Christ Sick, imprisoned, much receeves
"May all be said of Him Unwearied Lover
"Of Christ's Poor; this wee speak, yet much wee cover. —

"What can be said in truth of him y^t. gains
"By Heavens teaching Industry, and pains
"Much soul enlightning skill in things divine
"Which guards the heart which makes y^e. face to shine
"By which the Soule Mysterious depths can sound,
"Which such as want this Wisedome would confound,
"May all be said of Him Undoubted Lover
"Of Light & truth, yet all wee don't discover. —

"The Soveraign hand that orders all below
"That freely gives what he to none doth ow
"Did To this Worthy deal out Earthly Treasure
"(That which the world calls Glory) in good measure;
"And yet in midst of all 'twas strange to see
"His heart for God & Heav'n he still keeps free
"Gold's Not his God, glittering delights beneath
"His Chiefest good were farr, he'd nere bequeath
"His soule to things, which soules can never fill
"God was his all, God had his mind & Will.

"Who is't that don't admire Job's Patience;
"Here's a true coppy surely taken thence:
"Moses in Meekness once did all Excell;
"Here's Meekness truly that's neare Parallel.
"Order's the beautie of the World's Rare frame
"'Tis that which gives it lustre; 'tis the same,
"That made his house worthy desires of all
"That prize a Bethel, more than Babel's Hall.
"Numerous perfections, which we here omitt
"That render men for Earth or Heaven fitt,
"Might justly added bee unto the Rest;
"(Splendid endowments of an Heav'nly Guest.)
"Much inward Worth that only to the Eye
"Of Him is open, that hearts can descry,
"Lies covered up in silence till ye day,
"When Hearts deep Secrets th' Highest shall display.

"No wonder then we heare the Sobbs & sighs,
"Complaints reecho'd with heart melting cryes
"Of such whose hearts are wounded, bleeding lie
"Under deep sense of this their destiny.
"Oh such a father, husband, Brother, friend!
"Who knowes alas where such a losse will End:
"Thus without hope mourning might Such remain
"And justly count all hopes to bee in vaine,
"Did not El Shaddai ever live to bee
"As His, So Theirs in never ending glee."

[The body of Mr. Hull was buried, on the 5th of October, in a tomb in the Granary Burying Ground, which is still to be seen there, having the name of Judge Sewall inscribed on the side. He had built it for himself. In the same tomb were gathered successively the remains of his widow, of his son-in-law and daughter, and many of his relatives, connections, and descendants.

As has been said, he died intestate. The following agreement for the division of his property, copied from the Suffolk

Registry of Wills, will show what and how large it was at the period of his death.]

HULL'S ESTATE. — *(Division.)*

Proposalls for Division and Setlement of the Estate left by John Hull, Esqr late of Boston, dece^d intestate made & agreed upon between Judith his Relict widow, Samuel Sewall & Hannah his wife the onely childe of s^d John Hull & Administrators of s^d estate, humbly offered to the consideration of the Hono^ble County Court, for their confirmation (if they shall thinke fit) on whome the power of setling the estates of Intestates is devolved by Law; which proposalls are as neer as they can judge agreeable to the minde of ye dece^d so far as he com'unicated ye same to them; and are as followeth.

Imp^mis That-that the s^d Judith Hull in consideration of her Thirds in ye real estate shall have and enjoy the mansion house of the s^d Mr Hull, wherein hee dyed, wth all the land thereto adjoining and belonging; and all tenements, shop, out-houseing and buildings whatsoever on any part of s^d land standing; with a small orchard or parcel of land thereto neer adjacent late purchased of Mr Edward Rawson. Also one moity of all ye warehouses yard and wharfe scituate upon the Creeke in Boston neer the little Bridge commonly called Mr Peter Oliver's Bridge.

2^ly All the lands lying at Muddy River within the limits of Boston, with ye houseing, barnes, buildings and fences thereupon, viz: — Brookline lands (so called) in the present tenure & occupation of Simon Gates. Swamp line Lands in the tenure and occupation of George Bairstow; And Hoggscote Lands in the tenure and occupation of Andrew Gardner.

3ly One third part, right, share, title & interest in three dwellings scituate in Boston, made over by Deeds of mortgage; the one from Hudson Leverett, which is in his own present occupation; a second by Richard Woodde in ye occupation of his widow; and the third by William Hoar Baker, in ye present occupation of s^d^ Hoar. Or one third part of the monys wch may be paid for in redemption of ye s^d^ dwellings or either of them, or wch they shall produce upon sale, and a third of all interest & rents ariseing therefrom in the meane time.

To have and to hold possess and injoy all and every of the s^d^ premisses with the rents issues profits and improvements thence to be had made raysed or gained, unto the s^d^ Judith Hull and her assignes to her sole use benefit & behoofe for and during the full time and term of her naturall life; the Revertion of the Mansion house wth all the land thereto belonging, and all Tenements, Shop, buildings and edifices whatsoever on any part thereof standing with the priviledges and appurtenances belonging; Also ye little orchard or parcel of land bought of Mr Rawson neer adjacent to ye Mansion house; with the dwelling house and land on the other side of the street purchased of Robert Walker; and a small pasture being part of the land bought of John Damerill fronting on ye street leading towards Fort-hill in Boston, and all the Lands lying at Sherborn, alias Boggastow, at the decease of the s^d^ Judith Hull, to fall in equall division among^st^ the children of the s^d^ Hannah Sewall her daughter, namely Samuel, Hannah and Elizabeth, which now are, and such as shee may further have at any time & times hereafter.

Likewise at the decease of the s^d^ Samuell Sewall and Hannah his present wife the Revertion of all the aforementioned lands at muddy River, with ye buildings & improvements thereon; with the lands in Boston formerly M^r^

Cottons, at Cotton Hill (commonly so called) and all the buildings that now are, or shal be erected thereupon: Also all the warehouses, land and wharfe thereto belonging aforementioned, wth a small Tenement thereto adjoining formerly leased by Cap^ne^ Daniel Henchman; with a small close or pasture ground scituate in Boston adjoining upon Mr Robert Sanderson formerly purchased of Sarah Phippen; All the s^d^ premisses at the decease of s^d^ Samuel and Hannah Sewall to fall unto the aforenamed children of the s^d^ Hannah that now or which shee may further have, to be equally divided amongst them:

To have and to hold unto them their heirs and assignes forever, in equall parts & proportion to be set out unto them respectively, to the Son or Sons when he or they shall attain the age of Twenty one yeares, to the daughters at Twenty yeares of age or day of marriage which shall first happen, if their s^d^ Father and Mother be both deceased before that time; And if any of the s^d^ children should depart this life before the time for inheriting the estate so reserved for them in revertion, then his or her part so dying, to fall in equall division amongst the survivo^r^ unless such child or children leave issue of their body lawfully begotten, then such issue to enjoy the share or divident which would have fal^n^ to their parent.

Item: — It is agreed, That the s^d^ Judith Hull shall have and enjoy out of the personal estate to her own free and absolute use and dispose forever, one halfe part of all the household goods and Furniture in and belonging to the Mansion house, and one halfe part of all the wearing plate; Also one full third part of all the trading stock, goods wares merchandizes, monys, debts and whatsoever else is belonging to the personal estate; She bearing one third part loss by bad debts or any adverse providence which may happen. And

also paying one third part of all debts justly oweing from ye estate, funerall charges & other past charges & disburstm^ts^ relating to ye estate, or what shall further be disburs't for gathering in ye same.

Lastly, it is fully consented to and agreed, that the s^d^ Samuel Sewall and Hannah his wife (the only child left by s^d^ Mr Hull) shall have and enjoy the full remainder and residue of all their s^d^ Fathers estate (not hereinbefore express't to be reserved) both real and personal, of houseing lands or Tenements wheresoever lying scituate & being household goods, plate, moneys, debts, trading stocks, goods, wares, merchandizes and whatsoever else of any nature sort or kinde is thereunto appertaining. To have and to hold, possess and enjoy the same, with all the Rents, issues, profits and increase thereof unto them the s^d^ Samuel and Hannah their heires & assigns forever. They bearing two third parts of loss hapning by bad debts or any adverse providence, and paying two thirds of all just debts, funerall charges and other past charges and disbursm^ts^ and of what shall farther be disburs't for gathering in of the estate.

Likewise that the s^d^ Samuel and Hannah shall have and enjoy for term of life, and the longer liver of them, Cotton Hill lands with the buildings thereupon, the pasture close bought of Sarah Phippen, from ye day of ye date of these presents. And also at the decease of their mother, Mrs Judith Hull, all the aforementioned lands and houseing at Muddy River, her moity of the warehouses and small Tenement adjoining for term of life, the revertion thereof, at their decease to fall in equall division amongst all the children of s^d^ Hannah as is before provided. In Testimony of our full consent and agreement to this division and setlement, if the Hono^bl^ Court shall please to confirme the same (wch we humbly pray) wee the persons abovenamed have hereunto

put our hands[1] and affixed our seales this Twelfth day of March Ann^{o} Dom. 168$\frac{3}{4}$, annoq^{e} R.R^{i} Caroli Secundi xxxvi. Judith Hull & a seale. Samuel Sewall & a seale. Hannah Sewall & a seale. Signed, sealed & deliv^{d} in y^{e} presence of Daniel Quinsey, John Alcocke, Eliakim Mather.

At a County Court for Suffolke sitting in Boston by adjournm^{t} 13 March 168$\frac{3}{4}$, Mrs Judith Hull, Mr Samuel Sewall and Mrs Hannah, his wife, personally appearing acknowledged this Instrum^{t} to be their voluntary act and deed; which the Court approve of and confirme as a setlement of s^{d} estate, so far as they are concerned therein. Entred 14 March 168$\frac{3}{4}$ pr. Is^{a} Addington, Cl^{rs} Attest Is^{a} Addington, Cl^{rs}

A true copy from the Records of Deeds for Suffolk County, Lib. 13, fol. 92.

Attest, HENRY ALLINE, *Reg.*

[Capt. Hull's name was inserted in the *quo warranto* issued in London against the Governor and Company, on the 20th of July, 1683, among other distinguished citizens of the Colony. He was not living, however, when the General Court met to consider this subject. This meeting was on the 7th of November, 1683.

At this session of the General Court, a petition was presented from his widow and son-in-law for the settlement of his accounts.

It shows that the accounts were not settled in his lifetime, and from no fault of his own; that he kept the account with his own hand till weakness of body and the bulk of the account compelled him to take Capt. Daniel Henchman as his assistant; that there were indeed twelve thousand vouchers

[1] Being solely concerned therein.

and other papers filed; that one of his relations, and two of his apprentices, labored much in this service, for all which he charged nothing. He was, all along, many hundred pounds out of his estate for the supply of the country; and "did preserve their credit," says the petition, "by taking up and engaging several sums on their behalf, besides his own disbursements."

This petition was referred to a Committee; which reported that the sum of five hundred and forty-five pounds three shillings and tenpence half-penny was due to Hull from the country, and proposed that the country should pay this by paying four hundred pounds, with interest, to Capt. Phillips, of Charlestown (of whom Capt. Hull had borrowed that amount for the Colony), and to the administrators fifty pounds. This settlement was satisfactory to the administrators; although Hull's own last account had shown that seventeen hundred pounds were due him from the country. The payment seems to have involved a waiver on their part of a considerable sum. The following letter of Capt. Hull's to the General Court explains the transaction with Mr. Phillips.

At the request of the administrators, the petition and answer were recorded in full on the Colony Records, where we have found and used them.[1]]

To the Honorable General Court now sitting in Boston, the humble Representation of John Hull.

GENTLEMEN, I was in dissburss for the Country in May 1676 when I was first Ca[lled][2] to be their Treasurer in money about seven hundred Pounds. And since seldom

[1] Vol. v. p. 427.

[2] The MS. (Archives, Pecuniary, vol. i.) is somewhat worn on the edges.

less than 15 or £1600 until my order to receive in October 1680.

In November 1678 I went unto most of the Merchants & Gentlemen in this town to intreat them to pay for the Country £100 apiece in London, before March following ——— [because] £700 was then to be there paid to complete the payment for the Province of Maine, but I could not get anything to be obliged by any one. I then ventured m[yself] seven hundred pounds at Interest, because I understood that the £550 that was [sent] before would be lost if the other was not complied with, for which for repayment I had also given my bond to Mr. John Phillips of Charltowne for £6[00] and interest at 6 per cent until repaid and to others for lesser sums.

My encouragement was that God had called me to the place and had given me what I had for such a time, — that it was for a good people as (I hoped) such as would be just & righteous if not also grateful.

Gent. I am willing to lose freely one hundred Pound out of my own estate, & if it were indeed needful, much more.

I intreat you to give order to the Present Treasurer to pay Four Hundred Pounds more than this your bill speaketh of (which is Voted by the Honoured House of Deputies Oct. 22.) unto Mr. John Phillips aforesaid for which I am yet in bonds.

And to quicken up the towns of Salem, Salisbury, Newberry, Medfeild, Linn, Dedham, Toppsfeild, To send in speedily upon some Penalty what they are yet behind with me. The fault lyeth in the Towns who appointed Constables uncapable to so great a service as was committed unto them in these years of so great disbursements.[1]

[1] Philip's War.

I do Count it my duty to spend and to be spent for the Public welfare but I thing it (with all Humility) also your duty, Honoured Gentlemen, not to suffer me to lose more than needeth.

I leave myself with God and you, and am, Gent.

Your humble servant

JOHN HULL.[1]

BOSTON, Oct. 25, 1681.

[1] For a specimen of Hull's accounts, see APPENDIX G.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Note A. — Page 141.

HULL'S FAMILY.

The Diary, in different places, makes allusion to Hull's relatives of different degrees. In the Memoir prefixed to the Diary, we have collected the names of those mentioned in it and in the "Letter-Book" in our possession.

To exhibit more clearly the relationship of these parties to each other, we arrange our various notes regarding them, — besides those which have been inserted as foot-notes, — in the order of the three generations, — I., John Hull's father's; II., his own; and, III., his daughter's.

Generation I.

(1) Robert Hull, of Market Hareborough, England. It is said he was a blacksmith by trade [Rev. Mr. Sewall]. He arrived in Boston, Nov. 7, 1635; was a member of the First Church. His first wife was (2) Elizabeth, widow of ——— Storer. She died May 7, 1646, in Boston. Robert Hull afterwards married (3) Judith Paine, the widow of Moses Paine. Her first husband was Edmund Quincy, of Achurch, Northamptonshire, England, who removed to America, and arrived in Boston, Sept. 4, 1633. She died in 1654. By his first wife, Robert Hull had John and Edward Hull.

We have mentioned, on p. 124, Mather's story of Mr.

Wilson's prophecy as to Hull's wealth. We trust that the observation of Hull's kindness to his mother was true. It seems certain, however, that Mather did not truly understand the position of the parties. He says that Wilson, "beholding a young man extraordinary dutiful in all possible ways of being serviceable to his aged mother, then weak in body and poor in estate, [said] 'I charge you take notice what I say. God will certainly bless that young man. John Hull shall grow rich, and live to do God good service in his generation.' It came to pass, accordingly, that this exemplary person became a very rich as well as emphatically a good man, and afterwards died a magistrate of the Colony."

This agreeable anecdote, which we trust is true in its essentials, must be read with the recollection, that, when John Hull's mother died, her husband was living, to all appearance, in prosperous condition.

At Robert Hull's death, he left to John Hull "my part of the house which was first built, orchard and garden and lot at Muddy River, thirty acres, which I promised, at his marriage, to give at my death." He also leaves the following bequest: "I give to my son *Edmund Quincy* that portion that is due to me by my wife; and to his son *John Quincy* a lot at Braintree, which was my son *Richard Storer's*; and, to *Richard Storer*, £9."

To the same generation with Robert Hull belongs (4) ——— Hull, of London, believed by Rev. Mr. Sewall to be named *Edward* Hull. He was father of Edward Hull, a merchant of London. For the father, see p. 159. With him and his son, John Hull and Samuel Sewall corresponded; and Sewall was frequently at the son's house, in London.

Generation II.

(6) JOHN HULL, the author of the preceding Diaries, was born Dec. 18, 1624, in Market Hareborough, in Leicestershire; removed to New England with his father, [1] Robert

Hull; married, May 11, 1647, (7) Judith Quincy, daughter of Edmund and [3]Judith Quincy, the latter of whom is named above, as subsequently marrying her son-in-law's father.

John Hull died Oct. 1, 1683. [7]Judith Hull survived him. She resided, until her death in 1695, with her daughter, Mrs. Sewall. The following notices of her, after the death of her husband, appear in the Diary of Chief Justice Sewall: —

Jan. 10, 1687. I carried my mother Hull on my horse to Roxbury Lecture, when Mr. Moodey preached from John xv. 6. Mr. Stoughton, the President,[1] and my Uncle Quincy,[2] were there. A very pleasant, comfortable day.

June 21, 1695. About one at night, Jane came up, with an unusual gait, to tell us of my mother Hull's illness; she not being able to speak for a considerable time. About eight or nine o'clock, I called Mr. Willard, at her desire. Finding the room free once, and observing her very great weakness, I took the opportunity to thank her for all her labors of love to me and mine; and she, after a while, said, "God pity them!" which was the last prayer I heard her make. About six o'clock, I called Mr. Willard,[3] but could not discern any attention to his prayer, her disease so prevailed. A little before sunset she expired, to our surprising grief and sorrow. About noon, some one in the next room spoke about who should watch. My dear mother said she should need no watcher; she should be above, at rest.

June 24. My dear mother is buried. The bearers were Mr. Danforth, Russell, Cooke, Elisha Hutchinson, Addington, Sergeant.[4]

[1] Increase Mather.

[2] [3] Edmund Quincy, of Braintree.

[3] Rev. S. Willard, of the Old South, Vice-President of Harvard College from 1701 to 1707, — almost the only clergyman who opposed the witchcraft delusion.

[4] Thomas Danforth, Deputy-Governor from 1679 to 1686, President of Maine, Judge of the Supreme Court, &c.; died 1699, aged 77.

James Russell, of Charlestown, Judge, Treasurer of Massachusetts, &c.; died 1709, aged 68.

Elisha Cooke, one of the Council of Safety, agent for Massachusetts in England, &c.; died 1715, aged 78.

Elisha Hutchinson, Adjutant, one of the Council, &c.; grandson of Ann Hutchinson; died 1717, aged 77.

Isaac Addington, Speaker, Secretary of the Colony, &c.; died 1715.

P. Sergeant, one of the Council of Safety, &c.

The following monody on her memory was printed on a separate sheet at the time. We are indebted for a copy of it to Miss Quincy: —

Mrs. Judith Hull,

Of Boston, in N.E. Daughter of
Mr. Edmund Quincey: late wife of
John Hull Esq. deceased.

A Diligent, Constant, Fruitfull Reader
and Hearer of the Word of GOD,
Rested from her Labours, June 22, 1695:
being the seventh day of the Week, a little
before Sun-set; just about the time She
used to begin the Sabbath.

Anno Ætatis suæ 69.

EPITAPH.

Great Sarah's Faith; join'd with good Hannah's Prayer
For hearing of the Word, glad Marie's Care;
Aged Elizabeth's just walk; To dwell
Nigh Prophets, a true Shunamitish Zeal;
An Humble Soul Trim'd with an High Neglect
Of Gay Things, but with Ancient Glories deckt;
All these Expir'd at once! Array'd with them,
Our *Huldah's* gone to God's Jerusalem:
Without a Figure so, with her Last Breath
Shee Triumph'd o'er that Holophernes, *Death.*
Perfect in Thoughts, Words, Deeds, She soars on high
Performing what her Name did signifie.

---

(8) Edward Hull, brother of John, and son of Robert Hull, married Elinor Newman, Jan. 20, 1652–3, at Boston.

To this second generation of this table belongs (9) Edmund Quincy, brother of [7]Judith Quincy [afterwards Hull],

and son of Edmund and [8]Judith Quincy, the first emigrants, named above. He was born at Achurch, in England, 1627. He was one of the Council of Safety, &c. Died at Braintree, January, 1698.

Richard Storer was the half-brother of John Hull.

Generation III.

(10) Hannah Hull, the only child who lived to adult age of [6]John Hull and [7]Judith Hull, married (11) Samuel Sewall, on the 11th of May, 1675. He was son of Henry Sewall, who was son of Henry Sewall, the eldest son of Henry Sewall, a linen-draper, of Coventry, England. Jane Dummer, daughter of Stephen Dummer, of Newbury (whose wife was ——— Archer), was wife of Henry Sewall, and mother of [11]Samuel Sewall.

Hannah and Samuel Sewall had fourteen children, of whom six arrived at adult age; viz.: —

(12) Samuel, b. 4th June, 1678; m. Rebecca, daughter of Gov. Jos. Dudley, and settled in Brookline; d. Feb. 27, 1751.

(13) Hannah, b. 1680; d. unmarried.

(14) Elizabeth, b. 29th December, 1681; m. Grove Hirst, Esq., 17th October, 1700; and d. July 10, 1716.

(15) Joseph, D.D., b. 15th August, 1688; gr. 1707; ord. colleague with Rev. E. Pemberton; d. June 27, 1769.

(16) Mary, b. Oct. 28, 1691; m. Samuel Gerrish, of Boston; and d. Nov. 16, 1710.

(17) Judith, b. Jan. 2, 1702; m. Rev. William Cooper, of Boston, May 12, 1720; d. Dec. 23, 1720.

From these descend all of our author's own blood who are now living.

We do not attempt to trace the descent of [10]Hannah Sewall, and her husband, [11]Samuel, farther; except to say that they are the ancestors of a large family, distinguished in the annals of Massachusetts for the last century. We abstain, because this genealogy belongs properly to the forthcoming

Diary of Judge Sewall, which is the appropriate sequel to this volume.

A valuable letter from Judge Sewall, written in his old age, relating to the genealogy of the Sewall family, is in the possession of Rev. Mr. Sewall, and will be published, as we learn, in the Memoir of Judge Sewall, which will be prefixed to this edition of his Diary. Through Mr. Sewall's kindness, we learn a curious fact as to the way in which Judge Sewall and his wife first met. When he took his second degree, in 1674, at Cambridge, Mrs. Hannah Hull, as John Hull's daughter was called in the style of the day, was on a visit at the house of President Hoar, her uncle. "She saw me," writes the Judge, fifty-four years after, "and set her affections on me; though I knew nothing of it till after our marriage, which was Feb. 28, 1675–6. Governor Bradstreet married us in that we now call the Old Hall; 'twas then all in one, a very large room. As I remember, Madam Thacher and Madam Page (with whom Governor Bradstreet boarded) visited us the next day."

There is a tradition, which has often been printed, that, on the occasion of this marriage, the Mint-master, placing his daughter in one of the scales of his warehouse, poured pine-tree shillings into the other, until he had her weight in silver, and gave this sum to the bridegroom as her dowry. It is a pleasant story, which we could hardly expect to justify by any direct authority. Rev. Mr. Sewall, however, furnishes us, from the bridegroom's ledger, the exact sums which at that time he received from his new father-in-law. They are entered thus: —

1675.	*Dr.*	1675.	*Cr.*
My Father-in-law, Mr. John Hull, to his Free Promise	£500.0.0	Feb. 11, By money received	£30.0.0
		Mar. 13, " " "	35.0.0
		By balance when new Stated Accts.	435.0.0

The only dates of money received are, the one seventeen days before, the other a fortnight after, the marriage of Mr. Sewall to Mr. Hull's daughter. It will be observed that the

£435, instead of being paid in shillings, was paid by being passed in a balance to a new account. £500 was very clearly the amount of the dowry. This would be ten thousand shillings, or fifteen hundred ounces of silver.

Now, it is certainly worthy of notice, that, if this had been paid the wedding-night (as it appears it was not), if it were weighed against the bride, if she did happen to weigh an even weight of ounces of silver and of pounds of currency, her weight (troy) was exactly one hundred and twenty-five pounds. As she has long been held up for a jest, as if she were particularly heavy, we trust this precise examination of the ledger and the legend may not seem amiss. Whether she were or were not weighed against pine-tree shillings, her dowry was, in fact, her "weight in silver," if she weighed a hundred and twenty-five pounds; which is, perhaps, about the average weight of young ladies of her age.[1]

To the same generation belongs (18) Daniel Quincy, cousin of Hannah Hull, and alluded to in the Diary. (18) Daniel Quincy was the eldest son of [9]Edmund Quincy, the brother of [7]Mrs. Hull, and was born in Braintree, 1650. He went to England in John Hull's employment. He died Aug. 10, 1690, leaving one son, (19) John Quincy, who was Speaker of the House many years. Daniel Quincy was apprentice of his uncle, our author. The distinction which his descendants have since attained gives a peculiar interest to the following letter from Hon. John Quincy Adams, which we are permitted to publish by the kindness of Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D., to whom it was addressed: —

QUINCY, 18th September, 1839.

REV. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, Boston.

DEAR SIR, — I return, with many thanks, the original copy of the letter of 18th November, 1669, from the members of the South Church to John Hull, mentioned in the note, p. 84, of Mr. Wisner's Sermons;[2] and therewith I enclose

[1] Hutchinson says her dowry was said to be £30,000, paid in shillings. Allen repeats the story, but makes it sixpences. In this case, if that were her weight, she would have weighed three tons and three-quarters.

[2] See note E, in this Appendix.

the copy of the letter from Chief Justice Sewall to his son, of 21st April, 1720, which I mentioned to you when I had the pleasure of meeting you at your house.[1]

The first Edmund Quincy, and his wife Judith, were admitted members of the First Church, November, 1633.

Their daughter, Judith Quincy, married John Hull; and she is stated by Mr. Wisner to have been, as well as her husband, one of the founders of the South Church. She was one of the women who joined in communion with their husbands at that church, in April, 1669, and then addressed a letter to the First Church, requesting to be released from their covenant engagements with them for the purpose of being united with the new church; and her name is among the twenty-three members admitted to the South Church on the 16th of October, 1674.

She was the mother of Hannah Hull, who, as you will perceive by the enclosed letter, was, on the 28th of February, 1675–6, married to Samuel Sewall, then only twenty-three years of age, but afterwards Chief Justice of the Province, and the writer of the enclosed letter.

They were both members of the South Church; his name appearing as admitted on the 30th of March, 1677, and hers on the 1st of January, 1688.

The brother of Mrs. Judith Hull, the second Edmund Quinsey, lived, and was a member of the church, at Braintree. His first wife was Joanna Hoar, sister of Leonard Hoar, the person who came over from England in 1672, preached some time as assistant to Mr. Thacher at the South Church, and was then elected President of Harvard College. He had been educated at that College, where his name appears among the graduates of 1650.

In that same year, his sister, Mrs. Joanna Quinsey, became the mother of Daniel Quinsey, who was afterwards placed as an apprentice with his uncle, John Hull, who was a goldsmith, and some years afterwards Treasurer of the Province, and the contractor for the coinage of the celebrated pine-tree shillings.

In 1650, Mrs. Joanna Quinsey died; and her husband afterwards married Elizabeth Gookin. By her, he had three children; the eldest of whom, born in 1681, was the third Edmund Quincy, who became a Judge of the Superior Court, and agent of the Province at London, where he died, in

[1] This is the letter alluded to above.

February, 1738, of the small-pox. He was the great-grandfather of Josiah Quincy, the present President of Harvard University.

In 1682, Daniel Quinsey was married to Anna Shepard, daughter of the second Thomas Shepard, and first of that name minister at Charlestown.

Of this marriage, the issue were two children, — Anna, born the 1st and baptized the 7th of June, 1685; and *John*, born the 21st and baptized the 28th of July, 1689, — both at the South Church.

This John Quincy, son of Daniel and Anna Quinsey, was the person whose name I bear. He was the father of Elizabeth Smith (wife of William Smith, minister of Weymouth), my mother's mother. He was on his deathbed, at the age of seventy-seven, when I was baptized; and it was at his daughter's request that his name was given to me.

He had been an orphan almost from his birth; his father, Daniel Quinsey, having died at the age of forty, about one year after his birth, in August, 1690. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1708; and, within a year afterwards, his grandmother, Mrs. Anna Shepard, died, and bequeathed to him a farm at Mount Wollaston, where he ever after resided, and died.

It was only by the inspection of the record of your church that I ascertained where he had received the right of baptism; and only a few days before that I had discovered, in the Boston Town Records, the time and place of his birth.

As one of the children of your church, these particulars concerning him may perhaps be of some interest to you; and they are peculiarly gratifying to me, as they have furnished me the occasion of becoming personally acquainted with you, and of being indebted to your kindness for the inspection of your Church Records.

I am, with great respect, dear sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P.S., 19th September. — Since writing the above, I have seen, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, manuscript abstracts of sermons preached at the South Church by Mr. Leonard Hoar, on the 21st, 24th, and 28th of July;

4th and 25th of August; 8th, 15th, 22d, and 29th September; 6th, 13th, 20th, and 27th October; 3d, 13th, 17th, and 24th November; 1st, 8th, and 15th December, — 1670. Chief Justice Sewall's letter says he arrived from England in July, and was installed as President of Harvard College in December of that year. The manuscript abstracts are intermixed with similar abridgments of sermons by Mr. Thacher, and other ministers of that time.

J. Q. A.

We have the following account of the wedding of [18] Daniel Quincy from the Diary of Chief Justice Sewall: —

"Thursday, Nov. 9, 1682. Daniel Quincy married Mrs. Anna Shepard, before John Hull, Esq. Samuel Nowell, Esq., and many persons present, — almost Capt. Brattle's great hall full. Mr. Willard began with prayer; Mr. T. Shepard concluded. As he was praying, Cousin Savage, my mother Hull, my wife, and myself, came in. A good space after, when we had eaten cake and drunk wine and beer plentifully, we are called into the hall again to sing. In singing-time, Mrs. Brattle [1] goes out, being ill. Most of the company go away, thinking it a fit. But she grows worse, speaks not a word, and so dies away in her chair. And the strangeness and horror of the thing fills the (just now) joyous house with sorrow and ejulation."

For many of these particulars relating to families of so wide connections and so much influence in the Commonwealth, we are indebted to the kindness of Miss Eliza Quincy, of Boston; Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington; Dr. N. B. Shurtleff; and Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D.

[1] Mrs. Brattle and Mrs. Shepard were sisters, daughters of Edward Tyng. Mrs. Shepard survived both (18) Daniel Quincy and his wife, and bequeathed the estate at Mount Wollaston to her grandson, John Quincy.

When William Coddington removed to Rhode Island, part of the extensive tract of land assigned by the town of Boston to him and Edmund Quincy, in 1635, at Mount Wollaston, was sold to Edward Tyng. By the will of Mrs. Shepard, it became the property and residence of the great-grandson of Edmund Quincy, the associate of Mr. Coddington.

Note B. — Page 143.

HULL'S SHORT-HAND.

The short-hand used by Hull is named by Mr. Pitman, in his sketch of the modern history of this science, as the seventh system introduced in England, where more than a hundred systems have since flourished. It is the system invented and taught by Theophilus Metcalfe, and seems to have gained very considerable popularity, and retained it longer than most systems: for it was first published in 1645; and we find that editions of Metcalfe's treatise on it were published at least as late as 1698, when the thirty-fifth was printed, which is in the Library of Harvard College. The copy in the Library of our own Society was printed in 1674.

The title of this little hand-book is, "Short Writing; the Most Easie, Exact, Lineal, and Speedy Method that hath ever been obtained or taught. Composed by Theophilus Metcalfe, Author and Professor of the said Art."

Such considerable portions of Hull's Diary and Letter-Book are written in short-hand, that it appeared to the Committee of Publication necessary to decipher it before this volume was published. On application to Rev. Thomas Hill, of Waltham, who is very thoroughly learned in the arts of "short writing," he kindly furnished us with the alphabets of all the early systems; and, after a little experiment, it proved that Metcalfe's was that which Hull employed. The system itself is a wretched one; compared with the modern systems, it is intolerable; and, even compared with Hull's own long-hand, it seems very doubtful whether he could write his short-hand any faster than he wrote that. He wrote it very poorly also. From year to year, his own use of it varied. There are entries in it made in the margin of his notes for 1652: but there is nothing which shows that these were made at that date; and the entry of April 8 and 11, 1655,

in the margin of the Public Diary, is probably the earliest entry in our MSS. The last, and much the worst written in the Diary, is that of May 1, 1665; but in the Letter-Book is a copy of a letter to his cousin Leonard Hoar, of as late date as June 2, 1672, written in this character. Between these periods, he had different habits of writing it, and, towards the close of his experiments with it, united the letters more than at the beginning.

In the labor of deciphering, we were, all along, lured on by the hope of finding some matter of the Colony negotiations with the English authorities, which Hull had preferred to keep secret upon his Diary; but, now that the labor is over, we cannot state any reason why he should have written these particular passages in this character. He must have been led merely by the whim of the moment. With this uniform result of the elucidation of the short-hand of the Diary, we have not thought it necessary to unravel that of the Letter-Book, as we have determined not to print the Letter-Book in full.

As there exist some volumes of sermons written mostly by Hull in this character, — some of which, as election sermons, probably bear more or less on the politics of the time, — and as there are other MSS. of that century written in this same short-hand,[1] we have prepared the annexed page, for the purpose of showing Hull's variations from Metcalfe's own directions as to his system of writing.

Although Hull employs some arbitrary characters of his own, we have found no instance where he makes use of the formidable list of Metcalfe's.

The future decipherer must recollect that Hull shapes the character very carelessly, and often puts a letter from the ordinary alphabet into the midst of his short-hand. We have experienced more difficulty from this intermixture of hands than from any other cause.

[1] A MS. letter of Thomas Parker, first minister of Newbury, written partly in this character, to the synod of 1662, is preserved in the Antiquarian Society's Library.

METCALFE AND HULL'S SHORT-HAND.

LETTERS.	METCALFE AND HULL.	METCALFE ALONE.	HULL ALWAYS.	HULL SOMETIMES.
A				
B				
C				
D				
E				
F				
G				
H				
I, J . . .				
K				
L				
M				
N				
O				
P				
Q				
R				
S				
T				
U, V. . .				
W				
X				
Y				
Z				
&c. . . .				
CH . . .				
WH. . .				
SH . . .				
TH . . .				

THE VOWELS.

The vowels are generally indicated by the place of the point (·), or by that of the succeeding consonant. Thus the respective points around the letter indicate .

And C and T (c and /), written in these five ways, , , , , , mean *cat, cet, cit, cot, cut*, respectively. So, in Hull's writing, , , , , , would mean *ac, ec, ic, oc, uc*, respectively; but Metcalfe requires the characters in the alphabet to be used as initials.

HULL uses these arbitrary signs:—

 for *husband.*

 „ *every.*

 „ *pre* and *per*, as in long-hand.

 „ *congregation.*

 „ *our.*

 and for *o'clock.*

METCALFE'S (*for*) becomes, in Hull's writing, , and .

 (*are*) becomes

 is *2ndly.*

 is *after*, for .

 is *she.*

He could probably, with study, read his own short-hand MS.; because any intelligent man, with the key, could do that. We venture to express the doubt, however, whether he often did read it. Had he read it often, he would have corrected errors which are evident slips of an unaccustomed pen.

Since the study of Metcalfe's short-hand, which we made for this purpose, we have examined the two short-hand entries in the first volume of the Colony Records. We are able to say, that they are not made by Hull, nor in Metcalfe's system, and that they are in two quite different systems of writing. The short-hand in Sewall's almanacs is not Hull's system.

As we have said, Hull's own use of Metcalfe's short-hand began as early, at least, as 1655. Our earliest copy of Metcalfe's book was published in 1674. Either Metcalfe changed his system between these dates, or Hull or his teachers changed it in several points. To explain these changes, and other peculiarities in his use of the system, we present the table opposite of Metcalfe's alphabet, according to the edition of 1674, and of Hull's changes from that alphabet. In this table, we include all Hull's variations, which might puzzle a decipherer, so far as we know them.

Note C. — Page 146.

THE COINAGE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The history of the coinage of Massachusetts is so much confused in the different authors who have had occasion to speak of it, that we consider it necessary to trace it, in this note, from the beginning, and to print all the more important documents relating to it. One or two of these — which would have removed all the difficulties that have embarrassed the various writers on coinage — have, till now, never been published. Indeed, the subject has never been treated

with the respect or interest it deserves, except by Mr. Felt, in his valuable treatise on the currency of Massachusetts.

Hull's account, in the text, ascribes the establishment of the mint to the loss accruing from the introduction of counterfeit money. Hutchinson gives the same account,[1] with the additional statement, that the trade with the West Indies brought into New England a part of the plate and bullion which the buccaneers and other pirates took from the Spaniards.[2] This is substantially the same account with that given in the draught of an address to King Charles, in October, 1684. In the address, as it was presented, this passage does not occur,[3] having been struck out before it passed the General Court; but in the original, which is still preserved, there appears the following passage: —

"And as for the minting and stamping pieces of silver to pass amongst ourselves for XII^{d}, VI^{d}, III^{d}, we were necessitated thereunto, having no staple commodity in our country to pay debts or buy necessaries but fish and corn, which was so cumbersome and troublesome as could not be borne; and therefore for some yeares paper-bills passed for payment of debts, which are very subject to be lost, rent, or counterfeited, and other inconveniences. Then comes in a considerable quantity of light, base Spanish money, whereby many people were cousened, and the Colony in danger of being undone thereby; which put us upon the project of melting it down, and stamping such pieces as aforesaid to pass in payment of debts amongst ourselves. Nor did we know it to be against any law of England or against his majesty's will or pleasure till of late, but rather there was a tacit allowance and approbation of it; for in 1662, when our first agents were in England, some of our money was showed by Sir Thomas Temple at the council-table, and no dislike thereof manifested by any of those right honorable persons, much less a forbidding of it."[4]

[1] Vol. i. p. 164.

[2] Hutchinson, by mistake, fixes the date in October, 1651; but the true date is October, 1652.

[3] Records of Massachusetts, vol. v. p. 458. Another passage which was in the original draught, relating to the scire facias, was also omitted.

[4] Report of a Committee appointed Oct. 30, 1684. Political Volume of Manuscripts, vol. i., in the Archives at the State House.

Up to May, 1652, the taxes of the country were paid in wampum, cattle, corn, fish, and other such commodities, of which Mr. Felt has collected very curious illustrations. At the session of the General Court, of the 26th of May, 1652, this system came to an end; and the SILVER COINAGE of MASSACHUSETTS began, by the passage of the following Act, on the 10th of June, 1652: —

"It is ordered, and by the authority of this Court enacted, that the printed order about money shall be in force until the first of September next, and no longer; and that, from and after the first of September next, the money hereafter appointed and expressed shall be the current money of this Commonwealth, and no other, unless English (except the receivers consent thereunto). In pursuance of the intent of this Court herein, be it further ordered and enacted by the authority of this Court, that all persons whatsoever have liberty to bring in unto the mint-house at Boston all bullion, plate, or Spanish coin, there to be melted and brought to the allay of sterling silver by John Hull, master of the said mint, and his sworne officers, and by him to be coined into twelvepenny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces, which shall be, for form, flat and square on the sides, and stamped on the one side with NE, and on the other side with the figure XII^{d}, VI^{d}, and III, according to the value of each piece, together with a privy mark, which shall be appointed every three months by the Governor, and known only to him and the sworne officers of the mint. And, further, the said master of the mint aforesaid is hereby required to coin all the said money of good silver, of the just allay of new sterling English money, and for value to stamp twopence in a shilling of lesser value than the present English coin, and the lesser pieces proportionably; and all such coin, as aforesaid, shall be acknowledged to be the current coin of this Commonwealth, and pass from man to man in all payments accordingly, within this jurisdiction only. And the mint-master, for himself and officers, for their paine and labor in melting, refining, and coining, is allowed by this Court to take one shilling out of every twenty shillings which he shall stamp as aforesaid; and it shall be in the liberty of any person, who brings into the mint-house any bullion, plate, or Spanish coin, as aforesaid, to be present, and see the same melted, refined, and allayed, and

To prevent deceit and abuse in money.

then to take a receipt of the master of the mint for the weight of that which is good silver, allayed as aforesaid, for which the mint-master shall deliver him the like weight in current money; viz., every shilling to weigh three penny troy weight, and lesser pieces proportionably, deducting allowance for coinage as before expressed. And that this order, being of so great concernment, may not in any particular thereof fall to the ground, it is further ordered, that Mr. Richard Bellingham, Mr. Wm. Hibbens, Mr. Edward Rawson, Capt. John Leveret, and Mr. Thomas Clarke, be a committee appointed by this Court to appoint the mint-house in some convenient place in Boston; to give John Hull, master of the mint, the oath suitable to his place; and to approve of all other officers, and determine what else shall appear to them as necessarily to be done for the carrying an end[1] of the whole order."

It appears, from this Act, that there was some printed order, with reference to money, which we do not now have. This did not simply relate to the miscellaneous currency which has been referred to; for, in the original draught, this Act was introduced by the following preamble, which, however, was struck out by the deputies: —

"Forasmuch as the new order about money is not well resented by the people, and full of difficulties, and unlikely to take effect, in regard no persons are found willing to try and stamp the same."[2]

Every person who has attempted to make this statute consistent with itself has failed. As has been shown in the foot-note to Hull's text, p. 145, the direction that our shilling should weigh three pennyweights is inconsistent with the previous declaration, that the shilling should be worth but twopence less than the English. In point of fact, as Hull explains in the text, the American shilling was worth but ninepence, or threepence less than the English. On an examination of the original draught of this law, we believe we have discovered the cause of this inconsistency. Where the statute now provides the allowance for the mint-master, in

[1] As we say "carrying a point." [2] MS. Archives, Pecuniary, vol. i.

the words, "He is allowed to take one shilling out of every twenty," the original draught provided for a larger sum. In this shape, the statute passed the magistrates; but, coming down to the deputies, it received this indorsement: "The deputies consent hereto, provided that the preface be left out; and that instead of [here a wholly illegible erasure] for coinage, be inserted one shilling only, with reference to the consent of our honored magistrates hereto."

To this amendment the magistrates assented. The "preface" is the passage copied above from the original MS. In the statute itself, the other amendment has been made in the MS., and the draught altered, by the complete erasure of the number of pence originally named after the words "one shilling." With this correction, it was entered on the records. The complete erasure of the same sum, in the deputies' indorsement, is unwarrantable, and a little remarkable. It seems quite certain, however, that the allowance, as originally named, was one shilling eightpence, on their supposition that the English shilling weighed ninety-six grains. This would be one-twelfth of the sum coined. The original draught of the statute seems then to provide, though very blindly, first, for the reduction of the amount coined, by one-sixth from the English standard. This would make its weight, as they estimated the English coin, to be eighty grains. The statute probably then proposed to bring it down to seventy-two grains, and to grant the mint-master the eight grains thus deducted, for his allowance. On this somewhat clumsy computation, it would grant him one-twelfth part of the sum originally coined, or one shilling *eight*-pence in every twenty shillings; and we therefore presume that this was the language of the original draught.

The change made by the deputies, in the plan of the magistrates, made the statute inconsistent with itself, and was enough to put a stop, for a time, to the whole plan. Mr. Hull, as is evident, refused to coin the money at the reduced rate of payment proposed; and the Committee named in the

statute were compelled, therefore, to increase his compensation, on their own responsibility, to an allowance of fifteenpence in every twenty shillings, besides one penny for waste in every ounce. This brought the allowance to one shilling sevenpence in every twenty, — nearly the same as it was in the original draught. We copy, from the manuscript archives in the State House, this very important paper in this transaction, most of which has not been before printed: —

June, 1652.

"Whereas the General Court have appointed us, whose names are hereunder expressed, a Committee to consider and determine of whatsoever may best tend for the carrying an end of the order for melting, refining, and coining of silver, having spent some time in considering of what may with most speed and least charge carry that business an end: Respecting the country's advantage, do hereby declare, that there shall be a house built, at the country's charge, of sixteen foot square, ten foot high, substantially wrought; and further also provide all necessary tools and implements for the same at the country's charge: all which is in acting. And, that the mint-master may not have just cause to complain, we cannot but judge it meet to allow the said mint-master, for melting, refining, and coining such bullion, plate, and money that shall be brought unto him, what in his judgment and conscience, on his experience, he shall judge equal, so as he exceed not 15^{d} in twenty shillings, over and besides a penny in every ounce allowed for waste till the next sessions; against which time it is to be hoped sure experience will be had of what is necessary to be allowed, and there will be no just occasion of complaint; only we do desire and advise the said John Hull, there being a likelihood of several sorts of work in which he is to be employed, where there is no refining, and so less labor, he would take less; and where both refining and coining is necessary, there, if he find he cannot subsist with less, he may take fifteen-pence for every twenty shillings.

"Ri: Bellingham.
William Hibbins.
Edward Rawson, Sec.
Tho. Clarke."[1]

[1] State Archives, MS., Pecuniary, vol. i. at 1652.

This document is not signed by Hull, whose assent, indeed, was perhaps not necessary; but on a rough draught of it, which is still preserved, is his autograph, elegantly and even finically written, as "John Hull, mint-master." This autograph we have copied among our *fac-similes* of his handwriting.

This act of the Committee was approved by the General Court, on the 28th of October, the same year. There is no date with the document itself. On the same rough draught are some rude devices for the coin.

Upon the back of the document ordering the mint-house is the following order: —

"Boston, 11 June, 1652.

"It is ordered, that the oath hereunder written shall be the oath that John Hull and Robert Saunderson shall take as equal officers for the minting of money.

"Whereas you, John Hull and Robert Saunderson, are appointed by the order of the General Court, bearing date the 10th of June, 1652, to be officers for the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New England, for the melting, refining, and coining of silver, you do here swear, by the great name of the everliving God, that you will faithfully and diligently perform the duty of your places; that all money coined by you shall be of the just allay of the English coin; that every shilling shall be of due weight, viz., three penny troy weight, and all other pieces proportionably, according to the order of the Court, so near as you can. So help you, God."

In the margin is the note, —

"Jo. Hull deposed accordingly the same day before the Committee.

"E. R., S. [Edward Rawson, Secretary].

"Robert Saunderson deposed 19 $\frac{6}{mo}$, '52."

On the same loose page, we have next the order of the Committee, which changes the money from square to round. It is in the following words: —

"Whereas by order of the General Court it is appointed that all moneys coined here for form shall be flat and square, we whose names are hereunder written, appointed by the General Court as a Committee to consider and determine of whatsoever we should judge necessary for the carrying an end of the order respecting minting of money, do hereby determine and declare, that the officers for the minting of money shall coin all the money that they mint in a round form, till the General Court shall otherwise declare their minds *therein, any thing in the former order notwithstanding.*" [The words in Italics are crossed out in the MS.]

There is the following record, of the date of June 22: —

"At a meeting of the Committee for carrying an end of the order concerning money, on 22d day of June, 1652, at which meeting it was determined, —

Rich. Bellingham.
Mr. Hibbins.
Capt. Leveret.
Mr. Clarke.
Edw. Rawson.

"First, That there should be a mint-house, and all tools and implements necessary thereto, built and procured at the country's charge; which is in acting, and a declaration accordingly made.

"Second, That warrants should issue out to the constables of Boston for the pressing Isacke Cullimore for that service; which was done.

"Third, That another warrant should issue out to the said Isacke Cullimore for the empowering him to press other workmen, carpenters, &c., as may join with him in the country's service; which was done.

"Fourth, That the said mint-house shall be set upon the land of the said John Hull; and also it is agreed between the said Committee and the said John Hull, that whenever, either by his death or otherwise, the said John Hull shall cease to be the mint-master, that then the country shall have the ground the house stands upon, at such price as two indifferent men, equally chosen by the country and said John Hull, or his assigns, shall determine; or else the said John Hull, on the like terms, shall have the said house, as two indifferent men shall judge it to be worth at the choice of the country.

"William Hibbins.
Edward Rawson, Sec.
Thomas Clarke."

No special record is preserved of the cost of the mint-house and tools. It appears, combined with a remarkable series of miscellaneous expenses, in the following entry in the Treasurer's accounts: —

"To several sums paid on the charge, — prisons and prisoners and keeper and executioner and mint-house. All is £395. 12s. 2d."

This is in the Treasurer's summary of expenses presented to the General Court, and allowed. In the Library of the Historical Genealogical Society, the original account-book of Mr. Russell, the Treasurer at that period, is preserved. But several pages, including the mint-expenses, have been cut out and lost.

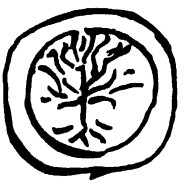
These transactions of the Commissioners were approved by the Court, at the next session, in the following vote: —

Court's approbation of the Committee's act about minting money, which is on file, 8 mo. 1652.

Oct. 26, 1652. "The whole Court, by their general vote, did allow and approve of the act of the Committee about minting of money, and respecting their building of the mint-house at the common charge, and allowance of the officers 15^{d} in every twenty shillings for their pains; and ordered the Committee to continue in power till the next election." [1]

And, at the same session, the permanent device on the coin was fixed by the following order: —

"For the prevention of washing or clipping of all such pieces of money as shall be coined within this jurisdiction, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that henceforth all pieces of money coined aforesaid shall have a double ring on either side, with this inscription: — Massachusetts, and a tree in the centre, on the one side; and New England, and the year of our Lord, on the other side, according to this draught here in the margin." [1]



To prevent frauds in monies.

[1] Records, vol. iv. pp. 104, 118.

There is no sort of statement as to the quantity of money that was coined under these Acts, excepting the general statement of Hutchinson, that a large amount of it was issued. It was soon feared that it was too largely exported. On the 12th of May, 1654, the Committee of the General Court reported[1] that the exportation of money prevented the very object for which it was coined; that those who exported it lost one-fourth by so doing, — such being, in the supposition of the Committee, the result of exporting a shilling, which would be worth only ninepence in England; that such loss could only be made up by extortion in trade, and wrought an under-value on all commodities. They therefore provided for a searcher for money at every port, and that every transgressor found carrying more than twenty shillings should lose his whole visible estate.

This report, however, was not accepted. The closing part of it is in the following words: —

"This Court doth therefore order and enact, that whatever person or persons, be they strangers or inhabitants, that shall directly or indirectly export out of this jurisdiction any of the coin of this country after the publication hereof, shall forfeit his or their whole estate, one half to the country, and the other half to such person or persons as shall sue for the same; and, to the end that the breakers of this law may be discovered, it is ordered that the County Court shall choose and appoint, in every port-town within their several counties, a water bayly or searcher, that is hereby impowered to search any suspicious persons or vessels, chests, trunks, or any other thing or place, and, upon discovery of any sums of money about to be transported, shall seize the same, and present the case to the next County Court, who shall determine whether the said money was intended or about to be transported; and if they so find it, then to forfeit the same, one half to the officer, and the rest to the country. And if any shall travel by land, and be suspected to carry money, any person with a constable may search for the same: if it be discovered, it shall be forfeited, one half to the constable, and the other part

[1] State Archives, MS., Pecuniary, vol. i. at date.

to be equally to be divided between the person and constable that do search for it.[1] The magistrates have passed this with reference to the consent of their brethren the deputies hereto.

"BOSTON, 22 May, 1654. "EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

"The deputies cannot consent hereto.

"WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric."

At the next session, an Act, with a similar object, passed the Court. It differs from the draught above, by naming the "searchers" for each port, and by providing that one-third only of the penalty shall go to the informer and officer, and two-thirds to the country. Shipmasters or seamen privy to the offence are to be fined twenty pounds each, to be divided in the same manner.

The Act, of course, was wholly inoperative.

We have no further information with regard to our coin until the year 1660, when the following order passed the General Court: —

Committee to agree with the mint-master.

"It is ordered, that Capt. Gookin, and the Treasurer, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, and Mr. Wm. Parks, shall be a Committee, and are hereby impowered, to treat with the mint-master for allowing such an annual sum as may be agreed upon as a meet honorarium to the country for the yearly benefit they receive by minting, that so the country may reap some benefit after so long a forbearance, having given them the benefit thereof for the time past, or otherwise to declare that this Court intends to agree with some other meet person to mint the money of this country; making their report to the next Court what they shall do herein."

This Committee accordingly reported, May 22, 1661: —

"We have, according to order, treated with the mint-masters, Mr. Hull and Mr. Saunderson, and find them utterly unwilling to pay any certain proportion to the country of the

[1] It would seem as if the first half were intended for the country; but the MS. reads "constable."

allowance paid them for coining money: only they offered ten pounds, as a free gift to the country, in case they will please to accept of it. But the Committee refused that proffer, alleging that the use of the mint and house required, in justice, some certain part of the income received by them, which, upon examination, will be found to be sixty-two pounds upon every thousand pounds, out of which the Committee propounded they should allow one-twentieth part for the country; but they consented not. This is the present state of that affair; leaving it to the Court to take such further order therein as unto them seems meet. — Dated 6th June, 1661.

"Daniel Gooken.
Richard Russell.
Anthony Stoddard.
William Parke."

"The Court judged it meet to order that this Committee should be re-empowered to treat with the mint-masters, and to receive the ten pounds above mentioned, and what else they can get by way of recompense for the mint-house for the time past, and that it be delivered to the Treasurer to be bestowed in powder."[1]

In the next year, 1662, comes into our history the anecdote of Sir Thomas Temple's witty reply to Charles the Second, already mentioned in the Memoir of Capt. Hull, p. 120. Sir Thomas was the first agent sent out by the General Court, in an official capacity, to London. He was almost in despair as to the Colony's fortunes, when he had an opportunity to be presented to the Privy Council, and make a favorable representation of New England there, and afterwards to the king in private. In his letter to the General Court, still preserved in the State Archives,[2] he gives an account of both interviews, as highly satisfactory. He does not mention any conversation about the coin; but as, from the draught of an address to the king in 1684, which

[1] Records, p. 12, vol. iv. part 2, May 22, 1661.
[2] State Archives, MS., political volume at date.

we have copied in the beginning of this note, it is certain that Temple did show some of it at that time at the council-table, these facts, combined, certainly give a great probability to the anecdote. As related in Hollis's Memoirs, the earliest direct authority for it now extant, it is said that the king expressed great wrath against the Colony, and said "that they had invaded his prerogative by coining money. Sir Thomas told his majesty that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law; that they had no ill design; and thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the king. On one side of the coin was a pine-tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. Charles inquired what tree that was. Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak; adding, that the Massachusetts people, not daring to put his majesty's name on their coin during the late troubles, had impressed upon it the emblem of the oak which preserved his majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good-humor, and disposed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to say in their favor, calling them a parcel of honest dogs." [1]

With reference to this anecdote, it is to be observed, that the word *pine-tree* was never applied, in any official language, to the device on the coin. The name "pine-tree shillings" has, however, always been given to them in conversation. But if Temple, who had been a loyalist, chose to call the device an oak-tree, he had a right to. If he remembered that it was adopted within a very few weeks after the victory at Worcester, and the day which the fugitive king spent in the royal oak, his reply had a vein of satire in it as well as pleasantry.[2]

The device is once spoken of, in the records of the depu-

[1] Vol. i. p. 397. The authority was Dr. Elliot, writing to Hollis, May 25, 1768.

[2] Charles's day in the royal oak was the 6th of September, 1652. The statute directing the device of our coin was passed on the 26th of October of the same year.

ties, as a tree. The pine-tree first appears, among the devices of the State, on the original seal of the General Court, where is a small pine-tree on each side of the Indian.

So little fear of royal displeasure, in this matter of coinage, had the Colony, that in this same year, 1662, the following Act passed the General Court: —

Order for coining 2 ds.

1662, May 2. "It is ordered by this Court, and the mint-master is hereby injoined, out of the first bullion that comes to his hands, to coin twopenny-pieces of silver, in proportion according to the just value and allay of other monies allowed here, to answer the occasions of the country for exchange; that is, the first year fifty pounds, in such small money for every hundred pounds by him to be coined; and for after-time twenty pounds, in like small money annually for every hundred pounds that shall be coined. And this order is to continue in force for seven years, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

All the twopenny-pieces of our coinage are, in consequence, stamped with the date 1662. As all the other coins have the date 1652, when they were ordered, Mr. Ruding supposes, in his "Annals of the British Coinage," that the twopenny-pieces are not genuine, or that the date in Folke's Tables had been read wrong. In these suppositions he was in error.

In 1665, when the king's commissioners were in this country, of whose proceedings Hull speaks with so much indignation in his Diary, they called attention — so far as we know, for the first time — to the violation of the prerogative involved in this coinage. They use the following language, with regard to it, in Article 22 of their demands, presented at the session of the General Court, May, 1665: —

That the law about the mint-house be repealed, &c.

"That, page 61, title Money [of the Colony Laws], 'the law that a mint-house,' &c., be repealed; for coining is a royal prerogative, for the usurping of which the act of indemnity is only a salvo."

In 1667, at the session of May 15, another attempt was made by the General Court to obtain better terms from Hull and Sanderson for the profit of minting. The following is the language of the record: —

"Mr. Thomas Danforth, Major-General Jno. Leveret, Capt. George Corwin, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, and Mr. Wm. Parks, are appointed a Committee to treat and agree with the master or masters of the mint in reference to some allowance, annually or otherwise, for and in consideration of the charge the country hath been at in erecting a mint-house, and for the use of it, for so many years, without any considerable satisfaction, and to make return thereof to the next session of this Court; and, in case they cannot agree with the present mint-masters, they are empowered to make such agreement as they can with any other."

This Committee reported at the next session, October of 1667, as follows: —

"In observance of an order of the General Court, held the 15th of May, 1667, nominating and empowering us, whose names are subscribed, to treat and agree with the masters of the mint, — we having duly weighed the country's interest in the edifices appertaining to the said office, and agitated the matter with Mr. John Hull and Mr. Robert Saunderson, the present mint-masters, have agreed with them as followeth; namely, in consideration of the country's disbursements on the said edifices, and for the interest the General Court hath therein, to pay into the public treasury, within six months next coming, forty pounds in money; and, for seven years next coming (the said Hull and Saunderson, or either of them, personally abiding in the said employ), to allow the public treasury annually, in money, ten pounds, the said term to begin from the date above named. In witness hereof, the said Hull and Saunderson have hereunto put their hands the day and year above written.

"John Hull.
Robert Sanderson.

"Jno. Leveret.
Tho. Danforth.
Anthony Stoddard.
Wm. Parke.

"The Court thankfully acknowledgeth the good service of the gentlemen subscribers in the premises, and order it to be recorded."[1]

At the same session, the Court decline "the proposal of Joseph Jencks, sen., for making money." Joseph Jencks was of Lynn, and before had asked help, unsuccessfully, in drawing wire.

The importation of Spanish silver was still so large, that constant efforts were made to obtain its introduction as a part of the currency. These finally resulted in the following statute, passed at the session of Oct. 8, 1672: —

"Whereas pieces of eight are of more value to carry out of the country than they will yield to mint into our coin, by reason whereof pieces of eight which might else come to coining are carried out of the country, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that all pieces of eight, that are full weight and good silver, — that is, six shillings of N. E. money, of Mexico, Seville, and Pillar, and so all lesser pieces of each sort, — shall pass in this jurisdiction as current as our own money, pieces of eight at six shillings apiece, and all lesser pieces proportionably thereunto; provided that all such pieces that shall pass in this jurisdiction have a stamp affixed upon them, which shall be NE., to evidence that [they] are of right allay and due weight; and that Mr. John Hull and Mr. Robert Saunderson, or either of them, be the persons for the tryal and stamping of such money; and that thereby [there be] fourpence upon the pound paid for the rest, one fourth thereof to the officer, and the rest to the Country Treasurer."[2]

At a subsequent period of the same session, the following section was added to the same statute: —

"Whereas pieces of eight, weighing six shillings, are ordered to pass for six shillings, and ordered to be stamped, &c., according to the said law, reference hereto being had; and forasmuch as few or no pieces of eight are of that weight, and so the intent of good to the country therein will be dis-

[1] Records, vol. iv. part 2, p. 347. [2] Ibid. vol. iv. part 2, p. 533.

appointed, — as an addition to the said law, be it ordered and enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that pieces of eight under the weight of six shillings shall likewise be passable for so much of New-England money as they shall weigh, and that it be impressed upon the stamp how much each piece doth weigh, in legible figures, with the other letters on the same, and of the same allay." [1]

In this Act, we find the introduction of the Spanish dollar into our currency, — that being the piece of eight reals alluded to. Its valuation was fixed at precisely the point which it now bears; namely, six Massachusetts shillings. It is only to readers outside of New England that we need say, that though the pine-tree coin has long since vanished, except from the cabinets of the curious, almost all prices in retail trade are stated in the terms of that currency to this day. "A shilling," in the familiar language of New England, still means a sixth of a Spanish dollar.

On the 12th of May, 1675, a new Committee is appointed to treat with Hull and Saunderson. The order is in the following words: —

"Whereas the time formerly agreed upon with the mint-masters is now expired, for the future well-settling of that matter, this Court doth desire and impower the honoured Governor and magistrates residing in Boston, or any three of them, to be a Committee to treat with such persons as they shall think meet, and to make such an agreement with them, for the coining of the money of this jurisdiction, as may be most encouraging to all persons that have bullion to bring in the same to the mint." [2]

Order settling the mint.

This Committee obtain rather more favorable terms for the public. They report, July 9, 1675: —

"In pursuance of an order of the General Court, held May the 12th, 1675, relating to the future settling of the

[1] Some of these worn Spanish pieces, which had wholly lost their original impression, stamped with N.E. on the one side, and the figures 12, 6, or 3, on the other, exist in some of the English collections. Both Folke and Ruding are puzzled by them; and the earliest authorities supposed they were stamped at Newcastle. Folke's copies of them are copied in Mr. Felt's "Currency of Massachusetts."

[2] Records, vol. v. p. 29.

mint, it is agreed by us the subscribers, as a Committee appointed thereunto, as followeth; i.e., that the former masters of the mint — viz., Robert Saunderson and John Hull — do continue to mint what silver bullion shall come in for this seven years next to come, if either of them live so long, and do receive of those that bring bullion to the mint, as a full reward for their pains, twelvepence for every twenty shillings, and threepence for the waste of every three ounces of sterling silver, that they shall so mint, — viz., fifteen-pence in the whole for every twenty shillings; and the said minters are to pay into the Treasurer of the country, in money, twenty pounds per annum during abovesaid term. That this is our agreement, witness our hands hereunto put, the 3d of June, 1675.

"John Leveret.
Symon Bradstreete.
Edward Tyng.
Robert Sanderson.
John Hull.

"The Court approves of this return, and the settlement of the mint accordingly, as attests

Edward Rawson, Secretary."

In the next year, 1676, Edmund Randolph [Sept. 20 — Oct. 12] renews the charge of violation of prerogative, in his narrative addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. His language is: —

"And, as a mark of sovereignty, they coin money stamped with inscription Mattachusets and a tree in the centre, on the one side; and New England, with the year 1652 and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Their money is of the standard of England for fineness; the shillings weigh three pennyweight troy, in value of English money ninepence farthing, and the smaller coins proportionable. These are the current moneys of the Colony, and not to be transported thence, except twenty shillings for necessary expenses, on penalty of confiscation of the whole visible estate of the transporters.

"All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652."[1]

[1] Hutchinson's Original Papers at date.

In 1678, in an address to the crown, there occurs the following request that the king will name a stamp for the coin: —

"As for that particular of our coining money with our own impress, his majesty, of his gracious clemency towards us, hath not been pleased, as yet, to declare his pleasure therein. And we have confidence, that when he shall truly be informed of the simplicity of our actings, the public joy thereof to his subjects here, and the great damage that the stoppage thereof will inevitably be to our necessary commerce, and abatement of his majesty's customs yearly accruing by our merchants and navigation, and is paid at London, his majesty will not account those to be friends to his crown that shall seek to interrupt us therein; and, for the impress put upon it, we shall take it as his majesty's signal owning of us, if he will please to order such an impress as shall be to him most acceptable."

As the commerce of the Colony increased, and the necessities of its currency, occasional petitions and memorials were sent to the General Court, with various propositions, among which a free mint seems to have been prominent. With reference to these, the following report was made in 1677: —

"In pursuance of an order to obtain the coinage of bullion and stoppage of transportation of money, we have discoursed Capt. Hull and others, and find no other expedient but the raising of the value of our coin, or making our money for future higher by nine or twelve grains, or making the mint free; for the first, if it be done, three halfpence in the shilling, and the law for exportation of money duly attended. We hope it may obtain what is desired. [2.] The paying coinage out of the Treasury we find the charge uncertain, but great, and both expedients attended with difficulty; and therefore judge them worthy of further consideration. In the mean time, we judge it meet to double the custom of all wines, brandy, and rum imported; which being drawn into the treasury, part of it may pay the charge of a free mint, if the Court afterwards see meet so to improve the same.

"JOSEPH DUDLEY.
RICHARD WALDRON.
DANIEL FISHER.[1]

"June 2, 1677."

[1] State Archives, MS., Pecuniary, vol. i. at date.

In 1679, Aug. 12, there is the report on file of the officers who arrested one Peter Loephilin, for clipping coin, in Boston. They discovered clippings, silver filings, and a melting-ladle in his chest. It will be remembered that this offence became very formidable in England before the introduction, under Isaac Newton, of the milled coinage.[1] At the session of Oct. 31, the same year, the deputies attempted to introduce the Spanish coinage as a part of the currency, without any new stamp; but the upper house would not consent. The following is the draught of the unsuccessful bill: —

"For the encouragement of the importation of bullion and increase of money in these parts, this Court doth order and enact, and it is hereby enacted, that henceforth all pieces of eight, of good silver and of the coin of Mexico or Seville, and pillar-pieces, shall pass current at six shillings per piece. And half-pieces of same sorts at three shillings, and all smaller pieces of said sorts after five shillings per piece of eight.

"The deputies have passed this with reference to the consent of our honoured magistrates.

"William Torrey, Cleric.

Oct. 31, 1679. "Not consented to by the magistrates.

"Edwd. Rawson, Secretary."[2]

In 1680, a petition for the establishment of a free mint, dated May 19, contains the following sensible suggestions, which are quite in advance of the average intelligence of its time: —

"1. All the money that now passeth the mint (besides the waste there) returns to the owner at least six and a quarter in the hundred lighter than it entered. And the impress adds nothing to the intrinsic value, — a Spanish cross in all other places being as well esteemed as a New-England pine.

"2. The least loss being six and a quarter per cent, and commonly more, is so considerable for the mere stamp, that nothing but necessity makes it tolerable; those who are able choosing rather to lay up, or send their plate, bullion, and

[1] Macaulay, chap. xx.

[2] MS. Archives as above, at the date 1679.

pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$[1] abroad, and others to sell to those that export the same, — having something more than the mint will yield. By which discouragement, little of late years, compared to what is laid up and carried away, hath been coined, and of that little much dispersed into other Colonies; and thence consequently groweth the great difficulty, and decay of trade."

With reference to this suggestion, Capt. Hull submitted the following paper, which is preserved in the archives in his own handwriting, though without any name. Every word of it shows an ignorance of the real laws of currency; but it should be remembered, that, in writing as he did, Hull did but adopt the views of some of the greatest statesmen of his age: —

[*Statement in Hull's handwriting.*]

Boston, June 6, 1680.

If foreign coin be advanced without great regard both to weight and fineness, and also without there be a great quantity of it in the country before it be advanced, it will be much loss to the country that so advances it; and the gain is only to strangers that bring it in.

If our own coin be carried out of the country, it is a sign that it is not so light as it may be, and that it would be for public advantage to make it lighter, unless we had some public income by mines as the Spaniard hath.

If every shilling be made 12 grains lighter, then all those that have good pieces of eight — i.e., both of good silver and full weight — will advance about 7^d or 7$^d\frac{1}{2}$ more than now they do.

Every 12^d then to be 2 penny-weight and half.
6^d one penny-weight 6 grains.
3^d 15 grains.
2^d 10 grains.

The same fineness to be kept, and put a new date.

Let the coinage and waste be as by the last settlement.

Obj. 1. From the difficulty of making payment.

Ans. 1. Let all money-debts above six months old be paid

[1] Meaning the Spanish dollar, or piece of eight reals.

one half in new money, and the other half in old money at its present and former value, or the debtor and creditor equally bear the loss between them.

2. All debts not six months old be paid in new money, or the old as advanced, unless any particular contract positively express otherwise.

If all the bullion of the country be coined at the public charge, it will reduce it to a certain fineness; and, being weight for weight, the merchant may as well transport the coined money as the bullion; and then you may have no money left in the country.

There are, about this time, two draughts of bills for a free mint; but neither of these passed.

These documents are the last preserved, which have any reference to the action of our own government as to our coinage. It is, however, impossible to say precisely when the mint was stopped. In the settlement of Hull's affairs, after his death in 1683, no allusion is made to the mint-house, which stood upon his land, and which he and Saunderson had purchased, in 1675, of the Colony. It had been, perhaps, bought of him by Saunderson, who survived him, and probably carried on the coinage, without any new order of the Court, for a short time after Hull's death. On the 15th of January, 1684–5, the officers of the king's mint, in London, present to the commissioners for his majesty's treasury a report, in which our mint is spoken of as still in existence. This report is in the following language: —

"To the Right Honorable Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury: —

"May it please your Lordships, — In obedience to your lordships' commands, signified by Mr. Secretary Guy the 24th of November last, in reference to a mint which hath hitherto been kept up and employed in Boston, in New England, —

"We have met with a copy of what was ordered by the then Court, as they termed themselves, being of the Colony of Massachusetts, and sitting at Boston, in New England, did,

in the year 1652, settle the said mint; which manner of said settlement we put down in their own words."

[Here the commissioners copy, from the statute-book of 1660, the law relating to the coin, as it then existed.]

"We have examined the twelvepence, 6^{d}, and 3^{d} pieces coined at the mint in Boston in N.E. aforesaid for weight and allay, and do find, that, as to the allay, it is equal to his majesty's silver coins of England, but different in weight, being less by about 21 grains upon the shilling, and so proportionably in the other coins, from his majesty's shilling-coin, which is near twopence three farthings upon the shilling, and is about 22½ per cent; besides a third more is allowed for the coinage than what hath been allowed for the coinage of his majesty's silver mints in England.

"The preserving of one certain standard for weight and fineness of his majesty's silver coins, in all his majesty's kingdoms and dominions, is very much for the security and advantage of his majesty; and the altering thereof, which are the common measures given by his majesty unto his people, cannot well be done in any one of his majesty's dominions, without eminent prejudice to the rest.

"Besides, according to the advantage before set down, it will be a great encouragement for the drawing away the current coins of this kingdom, so far as that trade may promote it. It will also be the occasion of making all merchandize and other goods rise in proportion to that money.

"We are humbly of opinion, if his majesty shall think fit to settle a mint in New England for making of coins of silver of 12 pences, 6^{d}, and 3^{d}, that they be made in weight and fineness answerable to his majesty's silver coins of England, and not otherwise.

"And for smaller pieces, (viz.) farthings, halfpence, and penny-pieces, if his majesty shall so think fit, that they be made of tin, and so supplied from hence, which will be to his majesty's advantage.

"It also may be observed, that though they have continued this unwarrantable way of coining of moneys ever since the year 1652, yet there is no alteration of date appears upon their coin of 12^{d}, 6^{d}, and 3^{d}, but the same date, (viz.) 1652, as at first coining of them.

"It is also further to be observed, that, for the encourage-

ment of bringing silver to their mint to be coyned, they do promise that these shall be but twopence in the shilling less in value than the English shilling; but, after the mint-master hath the same in custody and coined the same, they order him to pay the money out by weight at 3^d troy weight for their shilling, and less on pieces proportionally; which 3 pence troy [dwt. troy] is about $9^d\frac{1}{3}$ sterling, and makes out the account, as before, about $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, besides the charge of coinage. All which we humbly leave to your lordships' further consideration.

"Dated at the mint, the 15th day of January, 1684.

"Tho. Neale.
Chas. Duncombe.
Jas. Hoare."[1]

The mint was probably suppressed by Andros, in compliance with this report; for on the fifteenth day of July, 1686, a second report was made from the officers of the royal mint to Rochester, then Treasurer of England, in reply to a petition for its re-establishment.

This report is in the following words: —

"To the Rt. Honble Laurence, Earle of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer of England: —

"May it please your Lordship, — In obedience to your lordship's commands, signified to us, the 10th of this month, by letter from Henry Guy, Esq., we have considered of the papers enclosed to us in the said letter concerning a mint to be re-established in New England, and do find, that upon a like reference for the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury of the 24th November, 1684, of this matter, the officers of the mint did, by their report of the 15th of January following, deliver their opinion concerning the same, a copy of which report is hereunto annexed, no cause appearing to us to alter our judgments therein; presuming only to add this further, that when a grant was obtained by Sir Thomas Vyner and others, in the year 1662, for coining small silver moneys in Ireland, after it was by his majesty in council referred to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Ex-

[1] MS. Archives, Pecuniary, at date.

chequer, who heard the patentees and the officers of the mint upon report of their lordships, his late majesty, by his order in council of the 14th of November, 1662, was pleased to command the said letters patent to be delivered up at the board, to be cancelled, for weighty reasons expressed in the said report. We may likewise observe to your lordship, that when, in the year 1678, the Earl of Carlisle did make application for power to erect a mint in Jamaica, of which island he was Governor, it was then found impracticable, under the terms of keeping the weight and fineness of the moneys to English standard, (which cannot be altered, as we humbly conceive,) without dishonor to his majesty's coins, and prejudice to his subjects of his other dominions; in which opinion we are confirmed by the report made upon this occasion by the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, the 8th of February, 1678.

"As for the second part of Mr. Guy's letter, which directs us to think upon some other inscription, more agreeable to the king's prerogative, to be stampt upon the coin of New England, if a mint be settled there, we crave some time to consider of, after your lordship shall have perused these papers, and will be ready to obey your lordship therein.

"Dated at the mint, the fifteenth day of July, 1686.

"PHIL. LOYD.
THO. NEALE.
CHA. DUNCOMBE.
JA. HOARE."[1]

Thus silently fell an institution by which the Colony had, consciously or unconsciously, usurped what has since been regarded an especial prerogative of sovereignty. The General Court established it at a time when it conducted the affairs of the infant State, literally without any interference from authorities at home. This was, as Randolph maliciously says, at the very time when the Colony assumed possession of the Province of Maine, and gave more firmness to its administration in other regards. But it is not fair to say that it was, in itself, an act of rebellion: it was rather an intimation of

[1] MS. Archives, Pecuniary, at date.

that independence in which the Colony actually lived, and in which its rulers would have been glad to continue had affairs in England permitted.[1]

There is no record whatever of the amount of the coinage. Hutchinson says, however, that a very large sum was coined. He adds, that great care was taken to preserve the purity of the standard. It is to the credit both of John Hull and of the Colony government, that his work — which was never tested by authority, nor even suspected at home — bore so perfectly as it did the ordeal of the unfriendly Commissioners of the Royal Mint, at the period of its suppression. The rate established for the shilling (three-fourths of the English) fixed the colonial currency, from that time to the adoption of federal money, at the value of three-fourths of the sterling currency of the same names.

The coin circulated at least as late as the Revolution; but is now scarcely ever seen, excepting in the cabinets of the curious. On the same page with the *fac-simile* of Hull's handwriting, we have copied the various authorized pieces. In Folke's Tables, in Ruding's "Annals of the English Coinage," and in Felt's "Currency of Massachusetts," there are copies of two other pieces, bearing the word "Mattachusets," which are found in English cabinets. One of these is a silver penny; and the other a medal, with the good Samaritan on the obverse. But there is no mention of these in the records of the Colony. There are a few unique silver coins, struck by Lord Baltimore, in Maryland; but, with that exception, no other of the thirteen Colonies established any mint before the troubles of the Revolution.

[1] Randolph's words are these: "All this money is stamped with these figures, '1652,' that year being the era of the Commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free State, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent Colonies under their ordinance, and summoned deputies to sit in the General Court; which year is still commemorated on their coin."

Note D. — Page 214.

LETTER OF THE CLERGY TO JOHN DURY.

The Antiquarian Society has in its possession the original draught of the letter of the New-England clergy to John Dury, referred to in the foregoing Diary. It was composed, as stated, in Latin, by Mr. John Norton, and transcribed by Mr. John Wilson, probably on account of his more approved chirography. It bears the autograph signatures of forty-two ministers, including the President and Fellows of the College in their official capacity.

Samuel Mather, in the Appendix to his "Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England," refers to this manuscript as being then in his hands. He says, moreover, that he has also a letter written to Dury, on the same occasion, by Mr. John Davenport, at that time minister of New Haven, which was signed by the ministers of Connecticut Colony.

It would be desirable to publish these letters, with *facsimiles* of the signatures. It may be that the letter of Davenport cannot be discovered. That of Norton will in due time be printed, either by itself, or associated with other matter of a cognate character.

Note E. — Page 228.

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

The history of the Great Synod of 1661, and of the formation of the Third or Old South Church, is an important part, not only of our ecclesiastical, but of our political history. It is so admirably condensed by Gov. Hutchinson, and has been

so carefully treated by Emerson, in his history of the First Church; by Wisner, in his discourses on the history of the Old South Church; by Mr. Felt, in his ecclesiastical history; and by Mr. Barry, — that we need only refer to those works for the illustration of Hull's somewhat impassioned notices of the progress of the secession. The student who is interested in that secession will observe that this Diary brings to light some new points in its history. There is, we believe, no other authority which shows the existence of a divided feeling at a period so early as some of the notices of such feeling in the text.

Through the kindness of Dr. Blagden, we have been permitted to examine the records of the Third Church, and its early papers. We find that the curious original draught of the letter known to the ecclesiastical historians as the "Letter of the Sisters," in which the wives of the seceding members claim to be dismissed from the First Church, is in Capt. Hull's handwriting. He was doubtless a leading member of the seceders; and we suppose there is as little doubt that this letter was drawn by him. It is in the following words: —

"Reverend and dearly Beloved in the Lord, — Having had communion with our respective husbands in the Supper of the Lord this sabbath, and judging it for edification and consolation so to doe, wee humbly intreat you candidly to interpret it; and, for the helping of our joy in the Lord for the future, earnestly request you so to release us of our covenant engagement unto yorselves, that wee may, without offence to you, have liberty so to provide for our own peace and spirituall comfort, as may, in our own consciences, be most suitable to our duty, for our edification in the Lord."

Mr. Wisner mentions, in his history, that a number of the Massachusetts clergy sent a letter by Hull to the English dissenters, in the hope of inducing some clergyman, whom Hull might select, to come over, and act as a colleague with Mr. Thacher, in 1669.

Mr. Wisner was not aware whether Hull visited England

at that time. As there is no doubt he did do so, we print the letter here, and also the letter of Mr. Thacher, and nineteen brethren of the church, giving him authority to select a minister for him. Neither of these documents, we believe, has ever been printed before: —

"To the reverend, much-honored, and beloved in our Lord Jesus, the ministers and brethren of such of the churches of Christ in England unto whose hands these letters may come, and who may be more especially concerned in the contents of them: Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour: —

"Reverend and Beloved in the Lord, — It is not without much trembling of heart for the ark of God, both here and elsewhere, that we presume to make this our application to you, by way of earnest efflagitation for the travelling interest of Christ in this wilderness, the holy God having, in extraordinary displeasure (even unto astonishment), contended with these churches, by a judicial and successive removal of many eminent and faithful ministers of the gospel, who in their day were principal pillars amongst us; whence it is that divers of them are compelled to sit, as Sion in her widowhood, spreading forth their hands for some that might become instrumental comforters unto them, to relieve them who yet are far from them. It would be too tedious here to enumerate the causes of those disappointments which we have, for a considerable time, sighed and sorrowed under. But this is that which doth silence us therein, that the righteous Lord hath done it. He hath done that which he hath devised; he hath stretched out the line; he hath, notwithstanding, drawn his hand from destroying. We are, notwithstanding, not altogether without some hope that our gracious God will not always chide with us, and that he will not pour out all his anger, but grant unto us (though most unworthy) a reviving in the midst of the years. We therefore desire to wait for him, in the way of his judgments, until he show himself favorable to his wearied heritage. We would not be found wanting in any duty incumbent upon ourselves (his watchmen), in order to the consolation and edification of his churches, here planted and established in the faith and order of the gospel; but would take all opportunities presented

for the promoving thereof, that they may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God, and be furnished with an able and faithful ministry, where either there never was any placed, or where the Lord hath made a breach upon us in those our pleasant things. And as there be sundry under the one and the other consideration, so, in particular, in reference unto the Third Church in Boston, lately gathered (concerning which there hath been, and still are, many thoughts of heart with us), we are not able easily to express of how great importance, to the establishment of the kingdom of Jesus Christ amongst us, their being provided of an eminent burning and shining light would be; and, on the other hand, what a discouraging remora thereunto, and unhappy obstruction to the progress of the gospel in these parts, their suffering and disappointment therein may become in this their and our necessitous condition. At present, such is the good hand of Divine Providence, that we have a convenient season of transmitting our affectionate entreaties unto yourselves, for your pious and faithful solicitude for us and them in this matter, by our dearly beloved brother in Christ, Mr. John Hull, whose praise is in the gospel, who hath received instructions to negotiate in this weighty affair for that church above mentioned, to which he doth belong; concerning which, we take ourselves bound to testify, that it is a precious flock of Christ, regularly proceeding in their first gathering into church estate, approved therein both by magistratical authority, and also by the elders and messengers of churches, convened at their first constitution; giving them the right hand of fellowship as a testimony thereof, and ever since standing and walking regularly in the order of communion of churches, — a society (above most) amiable and eligible, and with whom a minister of the gospel shall find Christian and honorable entertainment, and will be highly esteemed of in love for his work's sake among them. We pray you, therefore, that (as to this our beloved brother) you would please to receive him in the Lord as becometh saints; and that you would assist him by your counsel and prayers, to your utmost, in whatsoever business he hath need of you, and in particular in that great trust committed to him, of seeking out for a suitable supply of some able minister of the New Testament for that eminent congregation of the Lord.

"We beg a continued interest in your love and prayers, and pray that the Lord would be seen in all our mounts; that the

good-will of Him who dwelt in the bush may be with you and us in this hour of temptation; that we may keep the word of his patience, and not deny his name, holding fast that which we have, that no man may take away our crown; and that the God of grace, even our God, would supply all your and our need, according to his riches in glory, by Christ Jesus, in whom we are

"Your affectionate and ever-loving brethren in the fellowship of the gospel,

"John Allin.
Edmu. Browne.
Edward Bulkely.
John Sherman.
Increase Mather.
Samuel Danforth.
Samuel Torrey.
Zach. Symmes.
Samuel Whiting.
Thomas Cobbet.
John Ward.
John Higginson.
William Hubbard.
Francis Dana.
Antipas Newman.
Samuel Phillips.
Samuel Whiting, jun.
Thomas Shepherd.
John Hale.

"Boston, Nov. 4, 1669."

"Boston, Nov. 8, 1669.

"Dearly beloved Brother, Mr. John Hull, — When God shall have brought you unto England, whither you are now by God's grace bound, we do desire your special care to inquire after, and seek out, and get for us, some able, orthodox, godly man (one who is in choice esteem and repute among the pious and wise-hearted who are of the Congregational way), to join with the Rev. Mr. Thomas Thacher, whereunto he is already called by us, in the work of the Lord, in the ministry of the gospel. We cannot so well nominate any person here as you will be informed concerning them when you come thither. We therefore leave the whole unto yourself. You well know the necessity which we are in, and the weight and concernment of it unto us; therefore shall cease from giving arguments unto yourself to ensure your care and diligence therein. And we do hereby empower you to act herein for us as if ourselves were personally [illegible] shall with thankfulness acknowledge and own your actings thereon. Now, the good Lord, the Lord of the harvest, the great Shepherd of the sheep, the God of the spirits of all flesh, direct your way herein unto such a one as may be much to the glory of God, and may come to us with the fullness of the blessing of [the] gospel, and that may be a means, in His

hands who holdeth the stars in his right hand, of conversion and building up of the souls of this poor little flock which you have left in this wilderness, for whom we crave your frequent prayers when absent, and the prayers of the faithful where God shall cast you, that we may be preserved blameless, in these hours of our temptation, unto his heavenly kingdom; to whom be glory throughout all the churches, world without end. Now, the Keeper of Israel, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, be your all-in-all, preserve, bless, and direct you in all your ways in this affair; giving you to find favor in the eyes and hearts of those you may have to do with, in this or any other of your own business, and in his good season return you unto your very affectionate brothers.

(Signed)

"Hezekiah Usher.
Thomas Savage.
Josh. Scottow.
Peter Brackett.
Joseph Rock.
John Wing.
John Sanford.
Benjn. Gibbs.
Jacob Elliot.
John Happing.
Joseph Davis.
Joseph Bellknap.
Edw. Rawson.
Peter Oliver.
William Salter.
Theoph. Hoare.
William Dawes.
Benjamin Thurstun.
Josiah Belcher.
John Aken.
Wm. Davis.
Edward Raynsford.
Robert Walker.
James Pemberton.
Seth Perry.
Tho. Brattle.
Theoder Atkinson.

"I also, dear brother, do heartily consent with the brethren in this matter, and earnestly desire the same thing of you; who, heartily praying unto the Lord of the harvest to prosper your way therein, that an eminent, faithful laborer may be thrust forth into this our harvest, and that your whole work may be adopted and blessed by him, subscribe myself

"Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

"Thomas Thacher, sen."

Note F. — Page 229.

THE MINISTERS OPPOSED TO THE THIRD CHURCH.

The capital letters in the manuscript are perfectly distinct, and have been copied in the text. There can be no doubt that James Allen and John Davenport, the two ministers of the First Church, were two of the opposing ministers. S. M., the initials of the third, are less intelligible. It is well known that Increase Mather, the minister of the Second Church in Boston at that time, at first took sides with Allen and Davenport. He afterwards, however, joined in opinion with the great majority of the clergy. No ingenuity, however, can make the S. M. of our manuscript stand for I. M.; and it seems quite impossible that Hull should have printed this S., by mistake, for I.

Samuel Man, for some time minister of Wrentham, who graduated at Harvard College in 1665, began to preach in 1669 or 1670. He is the only New-England minister of that time who bore the initials S. M. As, however, he was not settled in the ministry until Oct. 15, 1673, it seems impossible that Hull should have known or cared what were his opinions upon a matter of state, even if he had begun to preach as early as May, 1669; which seems very doubtful. He is said to have died in the forty-ninth year of his ministry; his death taking place in 1719. He could, therefore, scarcely have been the S. M. of the text. It seems more probable that Samuel Mather, of Dublin, may have been at this time upon a visit in America, and that he may have expressed the opinion to which Hull here alludes. His position and connections would have given that opinion importance enough, in Hull's eyes, to induce him to add his initials to those of the other two.

Note G. — Page 265.

HULL'S ACCOUNTS.

There are several of Hull's account-books extant. Of these, the most valuable to the historian is his book of accounts as Treasurer of the Colony for more than a year. This is preserved in the library of the Historical Genealogical Society; where is also the account-book of Mr. Russell, his predecessor in office.

For public and for family history, the value of this curious volume has been greatly enhanced by an Index, prepared with laborious care by Mr. Isaac Child, of the Historical Genealogical Society, who has thus presented to antiquarians a very easy means of reference to an authentic document of a very curious period.

This book begins June 25, 1675. The last entry is dated Sept. 23, 1676. The title of the book, in his own writing, is, —

"A journal appertaining to the Colony of the Mattachusetts, relating to their military affairs, begun the 25th day of June, Anno Domini 1675. In which also is begun, the 19th day of May following, and intermixed, the whole accompts of his government. Capt. John Hull being first chosen Treasurer at Warr by the Honble Council, and afterward Treasurer to s^{d} Colony by the Hon^{able} Gen^{all} Court."

Capt. Hull's private accounts are kept with precision and neatness, and show very curiously the wide range of his business.

NOTE H. — FRONTISPIECE.

The coins represented on the same page with the facsimile of Hull's manuscript are shilling, sixpenny, threepenny, and twopenny pieces of his coinage. The twopenny-piece here figured belongs to the valuable collection of Dr. Winslow Lewis, of Boston; to whom we are indebted for its use. The other representations are made from coins in the collection of the Antiquarian Society.

We have not thought it necessary to attempt the representation of all the different dies employed in the coinage. It has been already observed (p. 294), that the date 1652 was retained from that time forward, even till 1684, when the operation of the mint was suspended. It is certain, however, that, in that period, as many as sixteen different dies of the shilling-piece were used: there are pieces of so many different impressions in the valuable collection of Mr. Ammi Brown, of Boston. In the collection of Mr. William G. Stearns, of Cambridge, there are sixpences from four different dies, threepenny-pieces from two dies, and twopenny-pieces also from two dies. One of the shilling-pieces of Mr. Brown's collection is, so far as known, unique.

There are two other unique specimens in his collection, which throw perhaps a little light on the erased preamble to the coinage statute of 1652, already alluded to (p. 284). They are twelvepenny-pieces, of different dies, both dated 1650, — two years before the passage of that statute. The obverse in each bears a tree; but, in one, the tree has fruit upon it, as if an apple-tree. This coin spells the name of the State MASACHUSETS, instead of MASATHUSETS, as the other coin of 1650 does, and the coins of 1652 do.* These coins came into Mr. Brown's possession in such ways as to remove any suspicion of fraud from their history, so far as it is known. Their

* One of the 1652 dies reads MASATUSETS.

existence leads us to conjecture that the plan for coinage existed as early as 1650; that some person, probably Hull himself, struck these coins as specimens of devices which might be employed. After they were struck, the last "new order about money" passed; but, as "no persons were found willing to try and stamp the same," no more coins were struck until the authorized issue of 1652.

All these coins, we understand, will be figured in the work on the Coinage of America, on which Mr. Charles I. Beecher, of New York, has been diligently engaged for a long time.

The medal figured in Folke, Ruding, and Felt, with the Good Samaritan on one side, and the Massachusetts shilling reverse on the other, was simply a coin in the Pembroke Collection, — a worn Massachusetts shilling, on which some engraver, with a punch, made out a device of the Good Samaritan. It is so described in the catalogue of that collection, made when it was sold. It is, of course, unique, and of no historical value.

MEMOIRS

OF

HON. THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, LL.D.,

Second President

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY;

AND OF

HON. JOHN DAVIS, LL.D.,

Its Fourth President.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,
22, SCHOOL STREET.
1857.

MEMOIR

OF

HON. THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, LL.D.,

SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY HON. GEORGE FOLSOM, OF NEW YORK.

THE present volume of Transactions being the first that has appeared since the demise of the late Lieutenant-Governor WINTHROP, the second President of this institution, some notice of him will be naturally and justly expected, as a tribute to his memory, and a suitable acknowledgment of his services. Few men have been more venerated in the decline of life, or more esteemed in all its social relations; and this veneration and esteem arose in a great degree from its having been his constant aim to be useful to the numerous public institutions with which he was connected, while in private life he abounded in hospitality and kindness without ostentation. In him, too, were blended in a remarkable manner the genial qualities of a warm heart, with the dignified and unobtrusive deportment of a gentleman of "the old school." He was perhaps one of the last survivors of that school, to which we may be permitted to look back with respect, and even regret, without being pronounced guilty of *lèse-majesté* to the more modern exemplifications of social progress.

Most communities, however circumscribed in extent, possess their historical names, handed down from one generation to another, and conferring a certain degree of respectability upon those who bear them, almost independently of a proper regard to private character. But, when worthily borne, such names command universal esteem; and the force of early associations lends a charm to inherited virtues, to which few minds are insensible. To this order of names, it will be readily conceded that the name of WINTHROP belongs in New England, and especially in Massachusetts, where the memory of the first Governor, after the transfer of government to the seat of the Colony, occupies a place in general estimation second only to that of Washington. Among his posterity, too, in every successive generation to the present day, there have been found worthy descendants of this great and good man, in whose keeping the lustre of a name so distinguished has not been suffered to grow dim or obscure. It will not be regarded as a superfluous labor, in this connection, to trace briefly the line of descent of the subject of this Memoir, who was of the fifth generation from Gov. Winthrop; and to notice such incidents in the lives of his American ancestors as are less clearly understood or related.

John Winthrop was not one of the original members of the Massachusetts Company. His name first occurs in the Records in September, 1629; at which time he was appointed one of the commissioners to compose the differences between Gov. Endicott and the Brownes of Salem, who had been sent home in a summary manner. Endicott was at that date the actual Governor of the Colony, under a preliminary arrangement, quite brief in its duration, made by the Company before it was determined to remove the patent and government of the Company to New England. The government of Endicott, which was entitled, in the act of the Company

creating it, "the Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England," was, of course, superseded on the arrival of the Company with the charter, upon whom then devolved the entire direction of affairs.

Winthrop was elected Governor at a General Court holden in London on the 20th of October, 1629. The record of this meeting of the Company states as follows: — "And now the Court, proceeding to the election of a new Governor, Deputy, and Assistants, which, upon serious deliberation, hath been and is conceived to be for the especial good and advancement of their affairs; and having received extraordinary great commendations of Mr. John Wynthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one every way well fitted and accomplished for the place of Governor, — did put in nomination for that place the said Mr. John Winthrop, Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Is. Johnson, and Mr. John Humfry.* And the said Mr. Winthrop was with a general vote and full consent of this Court, by erection of hands, chosen to be Governor for the ensuing year, to begin on the present day; who was pleased to accept thereof, and thereupon took the oath to that place appertaining."

Mr. Mathew Cradock, who had been at the head of the Company until now, appears to have declined a re-election, on account of his unwillingness to remove to New England. At the same time, Mr. Humfry (now written Humphrey) was elected Deputy-Governor in place of Mr. Thomas Goff, for the same reason.

On yielding the government to Winthrop, Endicott was immediately elected one of the Board of Assistants; and at a subsequent date, first in 1644, several times filled the office of Governor of the Colony. It cannot be denied that he bore the title of Governor before Winthrop, but, of course,

* Johnson and Humfry had married daughters of the Earl of Lincoln.

by a different tenure, and in a subordinate capacity, somewhat analogous to the difference between the governments of a State and a Territory at the present day.

Prior to his removal to New England, Gov. Winthrop resided on the manor of Groton, in Suffolk, an estate that had formerly belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, but, at the dissolution of the monasteries, had been granted by Henry VIII. to Adam Winthorp, Esq., from whom it descended to the Governor. On leaving England, this valuable and beautiful estate was sold by him; but the records of his family may still be seen in the church belonging to the manor.* The change from the comforts and elegancies

* The name, as now written, is an evident corruption of *Wynthorpe*, composed of the two Anglo-Saxon words *wyn* and *thorpe*, — meaning *fair* or *pleasant village*, answering to the French *belle-ville*. Tradition points to the parish of *Winthorpe*, near Newark, Nottinghamshire, as the ancient abode of this family. The manor-house of Groton no longer exists: it was taken down about seventy years ago, as the writer was informed on the spot not long since. The site of the house, and some portion of the ruins, were then noticed.

A genealogical memorandum has been preserved in a curious "stone pot," now in the Collections of the Antiquarian Society. This memorandum also gives the descent from Gov. Winthrop of Mr. William Winthrop, of Cambridge, who presented it to the Society. It is in the following words: —

"At ye feaste of St Mich An^o^ 1607 my Sister ye Lady Mildmay did give me a stone pott tipped and covered wth a Silver Lydd.

"The above memorandum was taken out of my Great Great Grandfather Mr Adam Winthrop his notes, and given me, Oct. 13th 1707, by my cousin John Winthrop relating to the Stone pott given him by his Sister one hundred years ago, which pott is now in my possession.

"ADAM WINTHROP,
the son of ADAM,
the son of ADAM,
the son of IOHN,
Governour of Massachusetts,
the son of the above ^ad^ ADAM
to whom the pot was at
first given."

"Be it remembered, that the '*Stone pot tipt & covered with a Silver Lid*' descended to me upon the death of my father in 1779; and that it has, on this twenty-ninth day of September, 1807 (being the Feast of St. Michael), been two hundred years in the family, and is now in my possession.

"WILLIAM WINTHROP,
the Son of JOHN,
the Son of ADAM,
the Son of ADAM,
the Son of ADAM,
the Son of JOHN (Governor
of Massachusetts),
the Son of ADAM, to
whom the pot was at
first given."

of such a residence to a home in a country hitherto inhabited only by wandering savages, situated so far from any civilized community, must have required the greatest resolution on the part of Gov. Winthrop and his family; but, esteeming liberty of conscience and emancipation from ecclesiastical tyranny as greater blessings than mere physical enjoyments, they seem never to have regretted leaving their native land. It is related by Cotton Mather, that the king, on hearing of the high character of the governor, expressed his regret "that so worthy a person should be no better accommodated than with the hardships of America." It is fortunate for the historians of New England, that, amidst all the privations and toils of such a life, Gov. Winthrop found time to record the principal incidents attending the first settlement of the country; and not less fortunate for the public that the labor of illustrating the manuscript of this Journal, after it was brought to light, should have fallen to the lot of one so competent to the task.

John Winthrop the younger, the eldest of thirteen children, and, next to the father, the most distinguished of the name, enjoyed the advantages of education at the ancient university of Dublin, and afterwards benefited by foreign travel; cultivating at the same time an extensive correspondence with men of learning and science. At the age of twenty-five, with a young wife, and accompanied also by his mother and others of the Governor's family, he took leave of England, and arrived at Boston in November, 1631. The following year, he was elected one of the Assistants; and in 1633, with a small number of pioneers, commenced the settlement of Ipswich, so named from the principal town in Suffolk, one of the most patriarchal places in England. There Mr. Winthrop met with the loss of his wife, May 14, 1634, and went back to England the same year. In the mean time, the religious troubles continued to harass the

country; and a determination was formed by several persons of distinguished rank to remove to America. Amongst these were Lord Brooke, Lord Say and Sele, John Hampden, and others equally well known, who, having purchased from the Earl of Warwick an assignment of his grant from the Council of Plymouth, of lands embracing the territory of Connecticut, commissioned young Winthrop to take possession of the country in their name, and to build a fort at the mouth of Connecticut River for the protection of the proposed settlement at that place. He accepted the commission; but, previous to leaving England, he formed a second matrimonial connection. It has hitherto been supposed that the lady he now married was a daughter of the famous Hugh Peters; but, thanks to the researches of Dr. Savage and others, this error is at length corrected. She was a daughter of Edward Read, Esq., of Wickford, in Essex, and connected with Peters only by the second marriage of her mother. Soon after, young Winthrop again embarked for New England, taking with him his new bride, and arrived safely at Boston in October, 1635. The Journal of the Governor thus records this event: "There came also John Winthrop the younger, with commission from the Lord Say, Lord Brook, and divers other great persons in England, to begin a plantation at Connecticut, *and to be Governor there.* They sent also men and ammunition, and £2,000 in money, to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river." The commission was for one year from the time of his arrival at that place.

In the mean time, a movement for occupying the lands on the banks of the Connecticut had taken place among the Massachusetts colonists the same year, but previous to the return of Winthrop. These settlements were all made without title, within the patent held by the new Company; and the Dutch had a fort at Hartford, claiming that the bounds of New Netherlands extended to the Connecticut. Winthrop,

however, despatched a party of twenty men, in a vessel of about thirty tons, from Massachusetts Bay, including carpenters and workmen for building a fort at the mouth of the river, who arrived there about the end of November. He followed them soon after, and was employed in superintending the work during the time limited in his commission. But, circumstances changing at home, the English company abandoned the design of coming over; and the settlement of Saybrook was the only result of this enterprise. In 1644, the entire patent, and all the property belonging to the Company, including Saybrook Fort, were purchased by the Colony of Connecticut.

After completing the fort, Winthrop returned to Ipswich, where he continued to reside for several years. In 1638–9, he was engaged in setting up salt-works at that place. In 1640, he obtained a grant of Fisher's Island, opposite the present site of New London, from the General Court of Massachusetts, which then claimed it, and afterwards received confirmation of his title from Connecticut and New York. He made another visit to England in 1641, remaining there until 1643, when he brought over workmen, stock, and implements, to establish iron-works at Lynn and Braintree. The next year, he is supposed to have commenced operations at Fisher's Island, where he erected a house, the first, it is said, built in the eastern part of Connecticut. The same year (1644), Massachusetts made him a grant of land on the main opposite the island; to which he afterwards removed, and laid the foundations of New London and Groton. During this part of his life, Mr. Winthrop was engaged in various enterprises, — in the exploration of the country, the working of iron mines, studying the natural phenomena of the New World, and communicating the results of his inquiries to his learned correspondents in

England. Such were the occupations of this active pioneer in the American wilderness. His knowledge of medicine was sufficient to enable him to prescribe for the maladies of his neighbors in the absence of physicians; and his services in this capacity were much in demand, and highly appreciated.

Two colonial governments existed in Connecticut at this period, one of which had its seat at Hartford, and the other at New Haven. In 1657, Mr. Winthrop was chosen Governor of the former; and, being required to occupy an official residence at Hartford, was under the necessity of quitting New London. An excellent history of this place, recently published, has the following notice of his removal: — "In May, 1657, Mr. Winthrop was chosen Governor of the Colony. This act caused the removal from town of its friend and patron. The varied information of Mr. Winthrop; his occasional practice as a physician; his economical science; his readiness to enter into new paths of enterprise; his charity, kindness, and affability, — made him extremely popular. His residence in town was a privilege, although public affairs for two or three years had kept him much of the time away." *

On the restoration of Charles II., it was deemed necessary by the Colony of Connecticut to send an agent to England, for the purpose of propitiating the new government, and to procure a charter that should confirm them in their territorial jurisdiction and possessions, about which there was some uncertainty. Gov. Winthrop was selected for this purpose; and he accordingly took passage in the Dutch ship "Trou," from Nieuw Amsterdam (New York), in 1661.† Much has been said, and many anecdotes related, of this mission, illus-

* Caulkins's History of New London.

† 1 Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., new series, 456.

trative of the diplomatic skill of the envoy. Certain it is that he proved successful in accomplishing even more than was asked by his constituents; for the new charter, conveying the most ample privileges, was made to incorporate the two colonies under one government; which eventually proved satisfactory to that of New Haven, although not acceptable at first.

Among the incidents of this mission, Cotton Mather has the following: "I have been informed, that while he was engaged in this negotiation, being admitted to a private conference with the king, he presented his majesty with a ring, which king Charles I. had upon some occasion presented to his grandfather; and the king not only accepted his present, but also declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels; which, indeed, was the opinion that New England had of the hand that carried it." Mather adds, "But, having thus laid his colony under everlasting obligations of gratitude, they did, after his return to New England, express of their gratitude, by saying to him, as the Israelites did unto Gideon, 'Rule thou over us, for thou hast delivered us;' choosing him for their Governor twice seven years together."

There is some reason to suppose, that Gov. Winthrop had contributed his influence in bringing about the restoration of Charles II.; for a letter is extant, in the handwriting of the king, which is believed to have been addressed to him: but, as there is no superscription nor any address attached to the letter, some uncertainty exists on the subject; and it is doubtful which member of the family had the honor of receiving it. Dr. Savage at first supposed that it was the Governor's brother Stephen, who had been long in England, and actively engaged in promoting the restoration; but, on farther examination of the subject, he decides in favor of the Governor of Connecticut. His final statement is as follows:

"This letter, which is wholly in the king's handwriting, has been preserved in the Winthrop family; but, the envelope being lost, it cannot be *known* to whom the honor was addressed. I now presume it was to John, the Governor of Connecticut. As he had not been absent from New England, the service rendered must have been here; and the acknowledgment is, therefore, more honorable to him and to the sovereign." *

The letter referred to is as follows: —

BRUSSELLES, 6 or 8 April, 1660.

"I have so good information of the many good offices you have done for me, that I cannot doubt but you will continue the same affection till you have perfected the work you have begun; which, you may be most assured, will be accompanied with such an acknowledgment from me, that all the world shall take notice of the sense I have of your kindness, and how great an instrument you have been in promoting the happiness of your country. I have no more to ask of you but to proceed in the same way and method your own understanding suggests to you, and that you will believe I will always be

"Your affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R."

In the midst of his public occupations, Gov. Winthrop had found time to cultivate a taste for scientific studies, which brought him into correspondence with some of the most learned men in Europe. He is regarded as one of the founders of the Royal Society of London; to whose Transactions he made many contributions, especially in the department of Natural History. But these were generally anonymous; otherwise, says a Secretary of that Society in 1741, "his name would have been as universally known

* Journal, I. 127, note.

as the Boyles, the Wilkinses, and Oldenburghs, and been handed down to us with similar applause." The remains of his library still exist, having been presented to the "New-York Society Library," in whose catalogue a list of the books is separately printed, with the following notice prefixed: "This ancient and curious collection of books was presented by the late Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq. They were the property of his distinguished ancestor, JOHN WINTHROP, the founder of Connecticut."

During the Indian troubles in 1676, Gov. Winthrop was summoned to attend a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston, to concert measures for the general defence; and, while there, was seized with fever, and died on the 7th of April, at the ripe age of seventy years.

Gov. Winthrop left two sons, Fitz-John and Wait Still, who resided at New London after the removal of the rest of the family to Hartford. They inherited equal portions of their father's landed estates in that quarter, which were of greater extent than productive value. The eldest, Fitz-John, subsequently became Governor of Connecticut; while his brother, who removed to Boston, was named of the Council by Sir Edmund Andros; but afterwards, when the tyrannical character of Andros began to show itself, Wait Winthrop joined the popular party under Bradstreet, and accepted the appointment of commander of the militia. Under the new charter, in 1692, he was again named of the Council, and soon after was raised to the bench as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He died Nov. 7, 1717, leaving two children, John and Ann. The line of descent was continued through the son, as Fitz-John left no male issue.

John Winthrop, the only son of Wait Still, was born in New London, Aug. 26, 1681. He was graduated at Har-

vard College in the class of 1700, and married Ann, daughter of Gov. Joseph Dudley. "The literary taste of this gentleman greatly resembled," says the Rev. Dr. Jenks, "that of his distinguished grandfather;" and he was elected a member of the Royal Society. To him was dedicated the fortieth volume of its Transactions; and the editor, Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, in the Dedication, alludes in the most respectful terms to that grandfather, and renders his thanks to the grandson for his devotion to the cause of science, and munificent remembrance of the Royal Society, in presenting them "more than six hundred curious specimens, chiefly in the mineral kingdom, with an accurate account of each particular, intimating to England the vast riches which lie hidden in the lap of her principal daughter."* An unfortunate controversy between this gentleman and his sister, wife of Thomas Lechmere, Esq., respecting the family estate, which was decided in favor of the sister by the courts of Connecticut, carried him to England for the purpose of prosecuting an appeal. Although he succeeded in having the former judgment set aside, and the case decided in his favor, he never returned to America, but continued to reside in London and its vicinity the rest of his life. It is generally stated that he died at Sydenham; but the writer has seen the record of his interment at Beckenham, a neighboring parish, dated Aug. 5, 1747. It is probable that his long residence abroad was caused in a great measure by his learned associations in the metropolis, where he was joined by his eldest son, John Still Winthrop, in 1741, who remained with his father until his death.

Soon after his return from England, on the 4th September, 1750, JOHN STILL WINTHROP married Jane, daughter of Francis Borland, Esq., a merchant of Boston. Of the eight

* Mass. Hist. Coll., fourth series, vol. ii. 207.

children, the fruit of this union, were FRANCIS BAYARD, a distinguished merchant of New York; and THOMAS LINDALL, the subject of this Memoir. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Winthrop contracted a second marriage with the widow of Capt. John Hay, R. N. Of the issue of this marriage were BENJAMIN, who, after passing several years in London, settled in the city of New York, and married a daughter of Petrus Stuyvesant, Esq., a great grandson of the celebrated Dutch governor of the same name; ROBERT, who, after his father's death (June 6, 1776), entered the British navy at an early age, under the guidance of his English relatives, and after a brilliant career of professional service, having attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, died at Dover, Eng., in 1832; ELIZABETH, who married Jacob Sebor, Esq., of Middletown, Conn.; and MARGARET, whose first husband was Adolphus Yates, Esq. Their son, Richard Augustus Yates, is now Rear-Admiral in the British navy.

THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, the youngest son by the first marriage, was born at New London, March 6, 1760, and was prepared for college under the tuition of Nathan Tisdale, at Lebanon, Conn. Whoever has visited the cemetery in that rural village, where repose the remains of the Trumbulls and other patriots of the Revolution, may have remarked an eloquent inscription to the memory of this highly esteemed instructor of youth. Having completed his preparatory course of study under such favorable auspices, young Winthrop entered Yale College in 1776, but, at the end of two years, obtained an honorable dismission, in order to complete his education at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1780. His health at this period was delicate; and, to improve it, he made a journey to the South. Soon after, he embarked for Europe, taking passage at Nantucket for Amsterdam. The war with the mother country was still

going on; and the vessel in which he sailed was captured, and carried into an English port. He was permitted to visit London and some parts of the interior on parole, probably through the influence of his English relatives; and soon after passed over to the Continent, and travelled through France, Holland, and Flanders, before embarking for home.

After his return from Europe, Mr. Winthrop engaged in commercial pursuits with his brother Joseph, at Charleston, S.C., where he resided a few years. But he was soon induced to return to the North, and take up his residence in Boston. For a long period, Mr. Winthrop devoted himself to mercantile business, "with indefatigable industry, energy, and prudence;" while three of his brothers were similarly occupied at New York, and one at Charleston. Thus devoted to practical pursuits, there was not much in the career of Mr. Winthrop, at that period, to attract public attention, or to distinguish him from the crowd of persons occupied in a similar manner. But, in his domestic relations, he was singularly happy. Not long after his settlement in Boston, he had married Miss Temple, an adopted daughter of Gov. Bowdoin, at that time chief magistrate of Massachusetts, and a gentleman of the highest consideration. The mother of this lady was a daughter of the Governor, and the wife of Sir John Temple, baronet, Consul-General of Great Britain in the United States. The marriage of Mr. Winthrop took place on the 25th of July, 1786. This connection was of the greatest importance to him, as a young man just entering upon active life, and, without doubt, assisted in giving him the high social position he so long occupied in Boston. As a lineal descendant of the revered founder of the State, whose memory is ever green among the posterity of the Puritan Fathers of Massachusetts, Mr. Winthrop did not fail to experience the good effects of such a relation; which, however, he

shared with others belonging to a different branch of the family. These were the descendants of Adam Winthrop, a son of the first Governor by his third wife, — a daughter, it is supposed, of Sir John Tindal, Kt., a Master in Chancery. The Winthrops of Cambridge were of this branch of the Governor's descendants, and comprised all of the name then resident in New England; for none were left (where so many received their birth) in the old homestead at New London. It is only of late years that some have gone back to Fisher's Island and Winthrop's Cove, where a magnificent harbor still waits to receive the commerce of the world on its bosom, as the younger Winthrop probably dreamed it might do in after-times, rivalling England's metropolis, from which he borrowed the name of his infant city. But New London is still a small town; and the American Thames, a noble estuary of the sea, forms a convenient resort chiefly for a smaller class of vessels.

Having pursued the even tenor of his way in private life for many years, without aspiring to the honors of public station, or feeling the want of it to add to the personal consideration he had uniformly enjoyed, Mr. Winthrop at length retired from an active participation in business; retaining only the post of President of one of the banking institutions of the metropolis. What, however, he did not seek, was forced upon his unwilling acquiescence; and, for several years, he occupied a seat in the Senate of the State, where his habitual industry and attention, as well as sound judgment, resulting from a clear head and great practical experience, secured to him the respect and confidence of his colleagues and the community at large. Whatever tended to advance the well-being of society, or to promote in any degree the public convenience, was sure to receive his warm support; while excessive legislation and projects of doubtful utility

met with no encouragement from his sober and well-poised mind. A true conservative, he favored innovation only when it promised to develop new means of public improvement and useful progress.

From the Senate Chamber, Mr. Winthrop was taken to fill the dignified office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, who is, *ex officio*, a member of the Council; to which he was annually re-elected, by the suffrages of all parties, from 1826 until his retirement in 1832. As, happily, no vacancy in the office of Governor occurred during that period, he was not called upon to discharge the gubernatorial duties, to which he was fully competent; and his official labors were confined to the Council Chamber. At the same time, his private hospitalities, exercised in the most liberal spirit towards all the members of the government during the annual sessions of the General Court, contributed to the public service, by bringing together in a social manner the representatives of different portions of the State, and thus promoting harmony of feeling and action in the sphere of their official duties.

On his retirement from public life, Gov. Winthrop had already passed that limit of human existence beyond which all is "labor and sorrow." Having attained the advanced age of seventy-two years, henceforth what remained to him of health and strength was indefatigably devoted to the useful institutions with which he was connected, and to acts of private charity and benevolence. The principles upon which he acted were drawn from the pure spirit of the Christian religion, of which at all periods of his life he had been a public professor and advocate, and on which he now leaned for support. After his death, the following terse and beautiful embodiment of those principles was found among his papers, in his own handwriting: "*All I desire in life is to*

fill up the remainder in thankfulness to God, usefulness to man, and a growing meetness for heaven." Such sentiments deserve to be emblazoned in letters of gold, to challenge the admiration of all ages, and perpetuate the example of the great and good man, who, in the unaffected simplicity of his heart, gave them utterance. Nothing can be more humble, nothing more sublime, than these few but expressive words.

The sphere of usefulness to which Gov. Winthrop confined himself, for the most part, during the latter portion of his life, was in the encouragement of associations for different objects connected with the public good, and the advancement of learning and science. He was active in promoting education, and for many years served as one of the Board of Overseers of the University at Cambridge; and, at the time of his death, was senior member of the Board of Visitors of that institution. He also took great interest in the public schools of Boston; which, it is well known, are frequented by the children of all classes, the rich as well as the poor, and yield freely to all the best advantages of education, preparatory for the university, or mercantile and mechanical pursuits. He also, for several years, acted as Chairman of the Committee for establishing Primary Schools, at a time when they constituted a new feature in the system of public education; and, in the discharge of this humble but important duty, Gov. Winthrop discovered the same unwearied zeal as in his attention to matters occupying a larger space in the public eye. In the exercise of a similar spirit, he took a deep interest in the first institution for "Savings" in the city of Boston, founded but one month after that of Philadelphia, opened in November, 1816, being the first in the United States. The increase in the number of these useful institutions, usually denominated "Savings Banks," since that period, has been immense throughout the country, and shows very fully how well they

meet the wants and convenience of the less-favored classes. The number in the city of New York alone, at the present time, is seventeen; and the amount of deposits held by them is stated to be *thirty-two millions of dollars.*

In common with many eminent citizens in all parts of our country, Gov. Winthrop devoted much of his attention to the promotion of agriculture, in connection with the improvements introduced by modern science and inventive genius; and there was no subject on which he dwelt with greater pleasure. He was for thirty-six years one of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society; and, during the last ten years of his life, the President of that important institution. He was also an honorary member of similar societies abroad, — at Paris, Florence, &c.

But the attention of Gov. Winthrop to the objects already named was divided with other institutions, in which he manifested equal, if not a greater, degree of attention. The Historical Society of Massachusetts naturally claimed a large share of his affections: he regarded its objects with the warmest interest, and bestowed upon them all the encouragement in his power. On the resignation, in 1835, by the late Judge Davis, of Boston, of his office as President of that Society, Gov. Winthrop was chosen his successor (having been, for some years, President of the Antiquarian Society); and, in the words of Dr. Jenks, "was ever punctually and faithfully devoted to its interests, even to the close of life." He was also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; of the American Philosophical Society; and of the Historical Societies of Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Indiana. Of foreign literary associations, the Universal Statistical Society of France, the Archæological Society of Athens, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, of Denmark, enrolled his name amongst those of

their distinguished members. The connection of Gov. Winthrop with these institutions was not merely nominal; for it led to more or less correspondence with each, and occupied no small share of his time. He seems to have acted on the principle, that "whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well;" and paid the same scrupulous attention to the affairs of these honorary associations that he was wont to bestow on matters of business generally, or objects of greater substantial interest and importance.

The relations of Gov. Winthrop with the American Antiquarian Society commenced at an early period. He was elected a member in 1813; was chosen a member of the Council in 1821, and one of the Vice-Presidents in 1828. On the demise of Dr. Thomas, the first President, in 1831, Gov. Winthrop was chosen his successor; and continued to fill the office of President until his decease in 1841. Of the manner in which he performed the duties thus devolving upon him, it is not necessary to speak to those who were conversant with the affairs of this Society at that period; for, although laboring under the infirmities of age, and suffering a great portion of the time from the effects of disease, he was able to keep pace with the current business, and to maintain a constant correspondence with the Librarian and other executive officers, as occasion required. His attention was carefully directed to every subject involving in any manner the prosperity or advancement of the objects of the institution. A more vigilant guardian of its reputation and interests, or a more indefatigable purveyor of whatever might add to its literary and antiquarian treasures, could not easily have been found; and the institution was fortunate in possessing so liberal and appreciative a head.

It was during the administration of Gov. Winthrop that the second volume of the Transactions of the Society was

published. This volume consists, for the most part, of the well-known Essay, by Albert Gallatin, on the History and Languages of the American Aborigines, — a work of great research and much original speculation, characterized by the peculiar sagacity and philosophical acumen of its celebrated author. When it was proposed by the Committee of Publication to apply to Mr. Gallatin for permission to insert this Essay in the new volume, Gov. Winthrop was consulted on the subject, and very readily entered into the views of the Committee. After Mr. Gallatin's consent was obtained, he visited Boston for the purpose of consulting documents illustrative of his subject; when Gov. Winthrop took occasion to assemble at his hospitable board a large number of distinguished literary gentlemen of the metropolis, at the same time paying the Publishing Committee of this Society the compliment of an invitation. It was by such considerate attentions, for which he was well known, that this excellent man succeeded in winning the hearts of those around him.

Mr. Gallatin was occupied nearly two years, with the assistance of amanuenses, in preparing his work for the press: for, having left the original manuscript at Paris, he was obliged to re-write the whole from memory; in doing which, he made copious additions from materials collected after his return to the United States, chiefly through the medium of the Secretary of War. The paper had been originally commenced, on the suggestion of Baron Humboldt, during Mr. Gallatin's residence as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, from 1816 to 1823;* and application for

* A knowledge of this production of Mr. Gallatin, then unpublished, was obtained through the highly esteemed work of Adrien Balbi, entitled *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*, ou *Classification des Peuples anciens et modernes d'après leurs Langues*. Paris, 1826. Nearly all of this work relating to the American dialects is credited to *Gallatin's MS.* It is stated that Balbi's Atlas first made the French public acquainted with the researches of Adelung, Vater, and other German philo-

liberty to publish it was made on the part of this Society in 1835, when he was residing in the city of New York. Although suffering from physical infirmity, consequent upon his already advanced age (being then in his seventy-fifth year), he entered upon the task of recomposing the entire work with the alacrity and vigor of youth. The undertaking seemed to infuse new life into his dormant powers; and after its completion, so congenial had he found the occupation, Mr. Gallatin continued to devote his attention to literary pursuits as long as he lived. He studied the Spanish language after he had turned his eightieth year, for the purpose of being able to investigate the languages and antiquities of Mexico, the results of which appeared in two volumes of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, of which he was at that time the President. These valuable contributions to the knowledge of ancient Mexican civilization evidently grew out of his previous inquiries, given to the world through the agency of this Society, without which they might not have seen the light. In the midst of these labors, which afforded an agreeable solace to his otherwise vacant hours, Mr. Gallatin reached the great age of eighty-eight years, without seeming to lose for a moment the full possession of his gigantic intellect, until the lustre of that eagle eye was quenched in death. Such an old age recalls the language of Cicero: "Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intelligitur quando obrepat senectus. . . . Intentum enim animum, tamquam arcum, habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti."

logists. He, however, improved their arrangement, and added much information gathered from the accounts of such travellers as Humboldt, Blosseville, Freycinet, Gaimard, Lesson, Pacho, &c., and from his intercourse with the linquists Rémusat, William Humboldt, Champollion, Hase, Jomard, Jaubert, Klaproth, as well as from Malte-Brun and the works of Charles Ritter. *Encyclop. des Gens du Monde*, art. BALBI. Balbi (who was a Venetian by birth) quitted Paris in 1832, and settled at Padua, where he died March 14, 1848.

The flourishing condition of this institution may be traced to the great care of its enlightened founder in providing for its growing wants by a liberal endowment, and to the prudent management of its affairs during the almost half-century that has elapsed since it was established. The subject of this Memoir, though never ostentatious in his acts of good-will towards the numerous public institutions with which he was so honorably connected, did not fail to exercise a judicious and discriminating liberality towards all. Confined to his house by ill health, for the most part, during the ten years he presided over this Society, it was his practice to request others to designate such objects within their observation as might be suitable for his bestowal; and, in this manner, a considerable number of books and objects of antiquarian interest were quietly placed at the disposal of the Librarian, and added to the collections already made.

But increasing infirmities and the gradual decay of the vital powers at length rendered this kind-hearted and truly excellent man incapable of conceiving or executing any more the beneficent schemes that had been the occupation and delight of his declining years. Medical aid no longer availed to sustain the drooping energies of a once lofty and stalwart frame. In the calm assurance of a life beyond the grave, and with Christian hope to cheer him in his last moments, he expired on the 22d of February, 1841, at the age of eighty-one years.

The death of Gov. Winthrop was regarded as a public calamity, so many and so important were the institutions that had been honored with the influence of his name, or benefited by his co-operation in furthering their benevolent and useful objects. The two houses of the Legislature then in session adopted resolutions highly honorable to his memory, and adjourned for the purpose of attending his funeral.

His remains were deposited in the same tomb with three of the most distinguished members of his family, — the first Governor of Massachusetts and two Governors of Connecticut, who lie buried in the cemetery now belonging to King's Chapel in Boston.

Of his large family, numbering fourteen children, the greater part, with their excellent and accomplished mother, had deceased before him. Amongst these was James Bowdoin, a graduate of Bowdoin College, Maine, in 1814, and afterwards a member of this institution; distinguished also by his contributions to the volumes of the Historical Society. Mr. Bowdoin, who took the name of his uncle, Hon. James Bowdoin, died at Havana (Cuba) in 1833. Another son, Grenville Temple, a graduate of Bowdoin College in 1827, afterwards commander of the Cadets and of the Boston Brigade, died at Cambridge in 1852. The surviving son, the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., a member of this institution, and President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is too well known to require commemoration in this tribute to the memory of his honored father.

In concluding this imperfect notice of our former President, a short space may be permitted for the testimony of his worthy pastor, the Rev. J. L. Watson, assistant rector of Trinity Church, contained in a sermon delivered on the occasion of his death, in reference to Gov. Winthrop's relations to that religious society: —

"I feel that it is incumbent upon me to say a few words of him in the relation he bore to the catholic church of Christ. Were I to utter all that my mind prompts me to speak of him in this relation, the time would fail me. I should be most unjust, not less to *his* character than to our own grateful sense of the obligations which we owe him in every department of the church to which we belong, were I not to state, that during a very large portion of his

protracted life, almost to the very day of his death, the excellent qualities of his heart and mind, and a most liberal expenditure of his means, were constantly brought to bear on the promotion of the interests and the furtherance of the welfare of all the institutions of the church. Warmly attached to its principles, regarding it with a high degree of love and veneration, finding in all its services and arrangements that which his judgment wholly approved, and his affections earnestly and fondly cherished, this attachment and this love, as in the first instance they sprang from mature deliberation, so did they daily lead to a continual increase of ardent and zealous devotion to its service. His great share of prudence, and his wise suggestions; his orderly and accurate business habits; the weight of his personal character as a man and as a Christian; not omitting the independence of his own worldly concerns, — all combined in rendering his services to the church altogether inestimable; and it is perhaps more particularly in this respect that we cannot but feel that we are this day weakened by the loss of 'a strong man in Israel.' And we cannot but offer to Almighty God the earnest prayer, that, in his wisdom and mercy, he may be pleased speedily to raise up among us another such liberal and ardent friend to the church, as ready as he was to perform the same services with the same openness of hand, and the same devotedness of affection."

The following is a transcript of the resolutions adopted by the Society on receiving intelligence of Gov. Winthrop's decease: —

At a special meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, held at the Pavilion, in Boston, on Tuesday, the twenty-third day of February, A.D. 1841, His Excellency JOHN DAVIS, Vice-President, being in the Chair; on motion of William Lincoln, Esq., —

"*Resolved*, That the American Antiquarian Society deplore, with deep sorrow, the loss of a venerated friend and liberal benefactor, by the decease of the Hon. THOMAS L. WINTHROP, their late lamented President, the worthy descendant of the founder and father of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

"*Resolved*, That the Society and its members earnestly desire to testify the cordial regard and high respect they have cherished for their lamented friend, who secured their affection and admiration by his social worth, generous hospitality, enlightened benevolence, and liberal munificence; and that they wish to express, publicly, their grateful remembrance of their late President; and that they will solicit permission to attend on his funeral.

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Society tender to the family and relatives of the late President respectful assurances of sympathy and condolence in their affliction.

"*Resolved*, That the Council of the Society be requested to take proper measures for having an appropriate commemoration of the high virtues and distinguished character of their departed benefactor, the late President Winthrop.

"*Resolved*, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to communicate these resolutions to the family of the late President Winthrop, and to cause them to be published; and that they be entered on the records in perpetual remembrance of an excellent and good man, and of a generous and noble-spirited benefactor of the Society."

MEMOIR

OF

HON. JOHN DAVIS, LL.D.,

FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY HON. THOMAS KINNICUTT, OF WORCESTER.

[The following Notice of the Life and Character of the Hon. JOHN DAVIS formed a part of the Report of the Council of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, made to a meeting of the Society held in Boston on the 26th of April, 1854; and is published in this form by direction of the Society.]

WITHIN a few days, death has again invaded our ranks. The President of this Society, the Hon. JOHN DAVIS, died at his residence in Worcester, on Wednesday, the 19th instant.

It would be departing from the custom of the Council, as well as doing injustice to their own feelings and the character of the deceased, if they were to close this report without a tribute to his memory.

For the last quarter of a century, the name of John Davis has been intimately associated with the councils of his native State, or with those of the Union. During that period, he has borne a part in public affairs which will identify him with the history of his times, and give to him a position among the wise and patriotic statesmen of his country. Of

such a one, when enrolled among our members, and holding as he did the position of our presiding officer, it is, though a sad yet not an ungrateful duty to inscribe a brief notice upon the pages of our records, and thus to testify to our successors and to posterity the estimate which we entertain of his services and his character.

John Davis was born on the thirteenth day of January, 1787, in the town of Northborough, in the county of Worcester. Of a parentage neither affluent nor poor, it was his good fortune to feel the necessity of that personal effort and persevering industry which lie at the foundation of all success in life. Like most of the distinguished men of New England, his early training was upon his paternal farm and in the common schools of his native town, where he acquired that hardihood of physical constitution, which, in after-years, bore him through many an hour of suffering from acute disease, and, with the rudiments of education, those traits of character which contributed essentially to his success in the rough contests of his subsequent career.

After the usual preparation, a part of which was made at Leicester Academy, he entered the Freshman Class of Yale College in the year 1808, and graduated in course with honor in 1812.

Having selected the law for his profession, he entered upon its study in the office of the Hon. Francis Blake, of Worcester, who then stood unrivalled at the Bar of that county; and was admitted as an attorney in 1815. Just ten years from that time (in December, 1825), he took his seat in the Congress of the United States, as the representative of the Worcester South District. In that position he continued eight years (until January, 1834), when, having been elected Governor of the Commonwealth, he entered upon the duties of that office, in the discharge of which he continued until

March, 1835, when he took his seat in the Senate of the United States, to which he had been elected by the Legislature then in session. He remained a member of the Senate until January, 1841, when he re-assumed the office of Governor of the State, having been elected in the autumn of 1840, and continued to discharge its duties until January, 1843, when, having been defeated in the previous gubernatorial canvass, he remained in private life until March, 1845. In that year, upon the death of the Hon. Isaac C. Bates, then a Senator from Massachusetts, he was elected his successor by the Legislature, and continued to represent the State until the 4th of March, 1853, when, upon the expiration of his term, he finally retired to private life.

It will be seen by these dates that he was eight years and a fraction of a year a representative in Congress, three years and a fraction Governor of the Commonwealth, and nearly fourteen years a member of the Senate of the United States; making twenty-five years, or more than half of his entire manhood, spent in the public service.

The success of Mr. Davis in his profession was remarkable. He has been known to say, that his diffidence was so great in early life, that, for years after he had acquired some reputation at the Bar, he never rose to address the court or jury without embarrassment; yet, at the end of ten years after his admission to practice, upon the elevation of Gov. Lincoln to the Bench, he was the acknowledged head of his profession in a county of wide extent, and always distinguished for the ability of its Bar. As an advocate, he had few superiors in Massachusetts. Others there were more eloquent, possessed of more genius, capable of producing more thrilling effect by impassioned declamation and beautiful imagery; but there were few, if any, possessed of more power to convince or persuade a New-England jury. His

imagination was always subordinate to his judgment: perhaps he had too little of the former faculty. He seldom indulged in declamation. His strength lay in the clearness of his statement, in logical arrangement, in a facility of grouping the evidence bearing upon a given point, in a sagacity that never failed him in the selection of the topics and illustrations suited to the tribunal he addressed, with which his mind was stored by extensive reading and wide observation, and, added to this, a sincerity of manner so perfect that it could not be counterfeit. It is not strange, that, with such endowments, he should be successful with a jury composed of men distinguished, as most New-England juries are, for their common sense, earnest to discover the truth, and suspicious of all attempts to lead their judgment astray by appeals to their feelings or imagination.

As a lawyer, Mr. Davis was not remarkable for extensive reading. In this, his maxim was, "*Multum, non multa.*" His mind was well stored with legal principles; and he seldom failed of making a just application of them in practice. His arguments addressed to the court were always characterized by this habit of his mind; and, though he never permitted himself to be surprised by the citation of cases which he had not seen, he relied more upon well-settled principles, and the deductions logically made from them by his own mind, than upon the citation of any number of analogous authorities. He was always listened to by the court with attention, as one who had something to say, and from whom something might be learned; a fact which means something more than a compliment in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

But it was as a statesman that Gov. Davis was most distinguished; and upon his character in this capacity will rest his chief claim to an enduring reputation. He had not

long been a member of the House of Representatives before he became distinguished. The system of protection to American industry was then just assuming a decided character; and he at once gave to it the aid of his intellect, his industry, and experience. His opinions upon all questions connected with it were highly respected; and it was in no small degree under his auspices, as a leader in the House, that the system was finally perfected. In the contests growing out of this policy, he encountered the most distinguished of its opponents in that body, and, in the opinion of its friends at least, achieved a decided triumph. When it is remembered that Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, was then the leading supporter of the opposite side of the question, this is no light distinction. The weapons which win success in such a warfare must have no ordinary temper, and be wielded with no want of strength or skill.

It was in the latter part of his service in the House that South Carolina took her position on the subject of a practical nullification of the tariff laws, in the enactment of which he had taken so conspicuous a part; and that the integrity of the Union was directly and imminently threatened. It will be recollected by many with what equanimity and firmness he bore himself through all that trying period, yielding to no unmanly fears, but possessing his spirit calmly in the conviction of a just cause, and re-assuring others by his confidence in the strength of the Constitution to carry itself safely through the crisis.

Upon his elevation to the Senate, he entered upon an arena in which it was still more difficult to acquire and sustain a reputation of a high order; for there, in addition to a host of other able men, stood, in the full strength of their manhood, with every muscle and sinew and nerve in vigorous action, that great trio of intellectual champions, around

whose contests of almost superhuman power already tradition is casting the halo of an heroic age. It is not, of course, in a comparison with these, in their peculiar characteristics, that Gov. Davis is to find his true position as a debater or a statesman. The matchless manner and the "voice divine" of Henry Clay never yet fell to other mortal lot; Mr. Calhoun's remorseless logic and metaphysical skill were pre-eminently his own; and Mr. Webster's grasp of intellect and sublime imagination were as unequalled as the brow which foreshadowed them. Into this arena, Gov. Davis brought that admirable temper, that sagacity, that dispassionate wisdom, which had distinguished him in the House, and which had now culminated to their zenith; and he soon took a rank, which never deserted him, among the wisest and most able members of that remarkable body.

There he renewed his efforts in support of the protection of American industry, and for many years defended the policy whenever it needed defence. His speech in 1840, in reply to Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, will be remembered as one of his most successful efforts, and as having had probably more influence among the masses, in the unparalleled political contest of that year, than any other document that issued from the press.

For many years he was the Chairman of the Committee on Commerce in the Senate; and, though the duties of that Committee were foreign from his early pursuits and studies, he applied himself to the discharge of them with such energy and devotion, that he soon mastered the principles and details of the subjects referred to him. As a branch of commerce, his attention was early attracted to the fisheries, in which his own constituents were largely and successfully engaged; a department of industry, which, whether we consider its importance to the national wealth and national defence, or

the fearless hardihood with which it is pursued in every climate and sea, justifies the magnificent and prophetic eulogium of Burke, who saw in it the promise of the future greatness of a people then but in the "gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone, of manhood." The prophecy has become history; and, however some may have been disposed to disparage this element of national prosperity and honor, Mr. Davis claimed for it the fostering care and protection of the government, and, on all occasions, gave to the brave mariners employed in it his steadfast support. Many a bold seaman, as he pursued his prey on the stormy Banks of Newfoundland, amid the icebergs of the polar sea, or beneath the burning sun of the torrid zone, has had reason to bless the vigilant care of the fearless senator, who never forgot or failed him when his rights needed a defender.

When he left the chair of the Committee on Commerce, it was admitted, by common consent, that it had never been filled with more fidelity, or with greater usefulness to the country. One of his last labors as a member of the Senate was the framing and perfecting a bill for the regulation of steam navigation, with the object of diminishing the immense hazard to life with which it had been attended; and though opposed by adverse interests, and thwarted by all the arts of which parliamentary skill is master, he succeeded in establishing a code of regulations whose beneficial effects have already been widely felt, and which is destined in the future, in no small degree, to insure safety in the use of that fearful power which we have harnessed to our commerce, and have hitherto left almost without control.

But it was not to such special subjects as the tariff and commerce, large though they are, and comprehensive enough to monopolize the labors of a life, that he limited his attention. His was a mind which could not content itself with

specialties, however useful or absorbing. He surveyed the whole map of statesmanship, and was satisfied to leave no part of it unexplored. The principles of public law; of diplomatic intercourse; of constitutional law as applied to the States and the general government, and the conflicts between them; our systems of finance and public domain; our foreign and our domestic relations; the great questions of peace and war; of international duties and international rights, — all these, and many more, he made his study; and upon them all, whoever has read the debates of the Senate through the period of his membership, during which all of them have been discussed, and still more those who have enjoyed the privilege of his conversation, must have been impressed with the great extent of his knowledge, the comprehensiveness of his intellectual vision, and the high character of his practical wisdom.

On the agitating questions of a domestic character which were discussed during his connection with the Senate, while he steadily maintained the rights and defended the interests of the North, Mr. Davis was always ready to do justice to the South. With him her constitutional rights were sacred; for to the Constitution he acknowledged no divided allegiance. Whatever provisions were found clearly set down in that instrument were fundamental articles in his political creed. He never complained of them, or attempted to evade them. He was accustomed to take enlarged views of the various and diversified interests of the country, as forming in combination the strength of a great and united empire, destined in its integrity to advance the civilization of the world beyond any experience in its history, and by its dissolution, if dissolved it should be, to retard it by fearful and undefined perils and disasters. He regarded the union of the States, therefore, as a priceless blessing, to be maintained

only by a faithful adherence to the compromises of the Constitution. But, while he was ever ready to respect the rights of other sections of the Union, he firmly insisted upon those of his own; and upon all questions on which he was to act, involving either, he claimed, what he freely conceded to others, the right to be guided by his own independent judgment. This he followed, on more than one occasion, with a fearlessness which dared to obey conscience and duty, regardless of personal hazard or popular reproach.

On the subject of international relations and duties, Mr. Davis held sacred the obligation of treaties, and the still higher obligation of dealing justly, under all circumstances, with other nations, whether bound by treaties or not. His mind revolted from all attempts to wrest from the weak their rights or their territory, either by encouraging lawless individual enterprises, or by seeking occasions to involve them in national quarrels. The doctrine of a manifest destiny, in accordance with which we are to extend our republican empire, by right or by wrong, over the whole continent, found no lodgment in his mind. He adhered to that safer, that more benignant policy, which seeks to cultivate, to civilize, and adorn the vast empire which we already possess, rather than that which covets new provinces at the expense of national honor, and it may be of national security.

In regard to the question of intervention in European politics, which so much excited the community during the visit of that extraordinary and erratic genius, the distinguished Hungarian exile, he quietly reposed upon the great doctrine of the Father of his Country, and lived to see the storm of popular enthusiasm subside into the calm of a conservative public opinion; a result for which, in the closing days of his life, in view of the events transpiring upon the continent of

Europe, he had reason to be grateful, as a lover of the peace and prosperity of his country.

Neither the limited time for the preparation of this notice, nor the occasion itself, admits of an extended review of Mr. Davis's opinions upon subjects of public policy, or of greater detail in regard to his senatorial career. His personal influence in that body, during the latter part of his connection with it and up to the hour he left it, was probably unsurpassed by that of any other member. The sober thoughtfulness and spotless integrity of his life, his freedom from extravagance of manner or expression, his extensive and accurate information on subjects the most diverse, his ability to grapple with and master both principles and details, his readiness to impart knowledge, his long experience in public affairs, his reputation for solid judgment, his wisdom in council and firmness in time of trial, united to give him a position in the Senate, which any who sat there might well be content to occupy. It may safely be said of him, that few men have at any time belonged to that august body, who have possessed greater capacity for the service of the country, few who have exerted their talents with more fidelity, and fewer still who have accomplished more beneficial results.

When Gov. Davis was first elected to the office of chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, he had never been connected with the State government. His public life had been confined to Congress, as the representative of his district. His reputation acquired there was the basis of his popularity at home. Succeeding one of the most popular and efficient chief magistrates the State had ever had, the post was a difficult one to fill, without suffering by the comparison which would be sure to be instituted. It is praise enough to say of him, that he filled it without a diminution in the amount of public regard which his predecessor had

won. He remained in the office of Governor at this time but little more than a year, when he was transferred to the Senate. His selection a second time as the candidate of his party for the executive office was in 1840, when the political control of the State had passed into the hands of its opponents, and when it was deemed necessary to put in nomination the strongest man in the popular favor whom the party possessed within its ranks. There was no doubt in the minds of any who that man was; and the result, in his election by a popular majority of nearly twenty thousand votes, showed the wisdom of the selection. His executive administrations were characterized by a careful and conscientious attention to every department of duty, by a strict regard to the constitutional limitations upon his authority, by a jealous guardianship of the rights of the State in her relations with the general government and her sister States, and by a watchful concern in all her industrial interests, in her educational system, and her charitable institutions.

But the executive department of government was not that which was best suited to his tastes, or the character of his mind. He liked better the larger questions and broader field of contemplation opened to the statesman in the National Legislature; and he returned to the Senate with no wish again to assume the responsibilities and duties of executive station. Here he remained until within little more than a year of his death, when he returned to his home, with the intention of never again leaving it for public life; and there, his labors ended and his work all done, he died —

> "Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Massachusetts mourns his death as a public loss. Well she may. She never had a wiser, a more faithful, or a more

useful statesman. Long will she hold his services in grateful remembrance. Numerous as have been her distinguished men, and proud as she has reason to be of the long line of patriots who have illustrated her annals and adorned her councils, none have left to her the legacy of a nobler or a purer public life.

Distinguished as Gov. Davis was in public, it was in the relations of private life that the true worth of his character was best known and appreciated. Unostentatious in his manners, simple to a remarkable degree in his tastes, steadfast in his integrity under all circumstances, easy to be approached by the humble, always ready to listen to the weak and the friendless, stern and uncompromising in his resistance to wrong, social in his habits, genial in his disposition, and constant in his friendships, he was peculiarly fitted to adorn a private station, and to make happy the narrow circle of home and neighborhood and friends. These genial and agreeable qualities accompanied him in his intercourse with public men; and, above all, his allegiance to truth followed him wherever he went, and whatever he did. In private and in public life, the *incorrupta fides* of the man and the statesman never deserted him. It was the pole-star of his life, and, like the *in hoc signo vinces* of Constantine, always flamed on the sky before him.

Gov. Davis was a man of large reading, and of wide and minute observation. His knowledge was extensive and various. It was difficult to suggest a subject on which something could not be learned from him. He had devoted much time to the reading of history, both ancient and modern; and few persons were so thoroughly instructed in the details of our own colonial and national history. In the later years of his life, he resumed the reading of ancient classic

authors; among whom Cæsar, Tacitus, and Livy accorded best with his tastes.

In conversation he possessed remarkable power. Few men equalled him as a talker. His resources seemed to be never-failing. It was delightful to listen to him, as he sat in his own house, surrounded by his friends, pouring forth instruction by the hour, from lips that never tired and from a mind never exhausted of its treasures, upon themes of the most varied character, social, political, historical, moral, — rising from those of ordinary interest up to those which deal with the highest questions of human life and human destiny. Had Gov. Davis's lot been cast in a different sphere, had he occupied the chair of history or moral philosophy in a university, there can be little doubt that he would have achieved a fame as honorable, if not as distinguished, as that which crowned his political career.

Though deeply engrossed with the cares and duties of political station, he yet found time to interest himself in those benevolent enterprises which have for their object the improvement of the world in civilization, in morals, and religion. In the proceedings of the American Bible Society he felt a warm interest, and consented for a number of years to act as the President of the Worcester County Auxiliary Bible Society, in which capacity he afforded efficient aid to the parent association. Penetrated himself with a conviction of the inspiration of the Scriptures, and of the truth of the great and beneficent doctrines of the Christian religion, he regarded their circulation, in every tongue and in every land, as the means of the moral elevation, and the general and permanent civilization, of the human race.

Of the interest which he felt in this institution, and the attention which he devoted to its concerns, the reports of the Council from year to year will testify. As its friend and

constant benefactor, he bestowed upon it many and valuable favors; and, as its President, he conferred upon it honor, and devoted to it the last services of his life.

But it is time to bring this notice to a close. Again we are reminded by this event of the fearful havoc which death has made among us within the last three years.

"The great are falling from us," —

Calhoun, Clay, Webster, — all within so short a space, that, as each departed, he seems to have been calling to the next to follow him. And now Davis has joined them, may we not believe, to unite with their spirits in that higher council around the throne of the Most High?

After the preceding report was read, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP rose, and spoke as follows: —

"I pray leave, Mr. Vice-President, to present to the Society a resolution or two, for the purpose of placing formally upon the records of this meeting the views which have been already expressed on all sides of the hall. They relate, I need not say, to our lamented President, whose death has been so fitly and feelingly announced to us in the Report of the Council.

"It has been my good fortune to know Gov. Davis long and well. It is twenty years this very month since I entered his military family (as it is sometimes called) as his senior aide-de-camp, upon his first election to the office of Governor of Massachusetts. From that time to this, hardly a year has elapsed in which I have not been associated with him in some sphere or other of the public service. I have

known him, for years together, in the intimacies of a Congressional mess, where all that is peculiar in private character is sure to make itself known. And it has been my privilege, too, to serve at his side in the Senate Chamber of the United States, during a brief but crowded and momentous period in the history of our national legislation. I desire, under these circumstances, sir, to bear my humble testimony to the many excellent and noble qualities, both of head and of heart, which distinguished him everywhere alike. No better or worthier senator, in my humble judgment, was ever sent to the Capitol, from Massachusetts or from any other State, than John Davis; none more intelligent, more industrious, more faithful, more useful, more pure, disinterested, and patriotic.

"His physical health and vigor were, it is true, not always equal to the demands which were made upon him. He had, too, a natural repugnance to every thing in the nature of ostentation or personal display. But he had a word ably and fitly and eloquently spoken for every occasion where it was called for; and he had — what is better than a whole volume of words — a quick eye, a listening ear, an attentive and thoroughly informed mind, and a punctual personal presence, for the daily and practical proceedings of Congress. No man took a more active interest, and no man exerted a more valuable influence, in regard to the real business of the country. Though born and bred in the interior of the State, and educated to the profession of the Bar, his mind seemed to have a natural facility for grappling with the difficult questions of trade and currency and tariffs, which belong more peculiarly to those who have their homes upon the sea-board, and who are personally engaged in commercial affairs. Upon questions of this sort, his opinion was often appealed to, almost as law. More than one occasion might

be cited, where that opinion was deferred to implicitly, as an all-sufficient authority to govern the action of the Senate, even by those least inclined and least accustomed to waive any views of their own. The labor of the country, and the commerce and navigation of the country, owe him a debt which could not easily have been paid, had he lived; and which now, alas! can only be the subject of empty and formal recognition.

"Above all, sir, he was a just and virtuous man, whose daily life was without spot or blemish, and whose example may be commended, without qualification, to the imitation of both young and old. As such, his name belongs to the treasures of our State and nation; and his memory can never fail to be cherished by all who appreciate the value of virtuous and Christian statesmen.

"I ought to apologize, Mr. Vice-President, for having added a syllable to the able and admirable tributes to which we have just listened, in the reports of my friend Judge Kinnicutt and of our devoted Librarian; and I will only trespass further upon your time by submitting the following resolutions: —

"*Resolved*, That we have learned with unfeigned sensibility and sorrow the sudden death of our distinguished and excellent President, and that this Society will ever cherish his memory with the warmest regard and respect.

"*Resolved*, That the President's chair, in the Society's hall at Worcester, be shrouded with black until the next annual meeting; and that the Council be requested to take measures for adding a portrait of Gov. Davis to the Society's gallery.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Council for the admirable Memoir of our lamented President which they have presented in their report, and that they be instructed to prepare it for the press in a form in which it may have general circulation.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be communicated to the widow and family of Gov. Davis, with an assurance of the sincere sympathy of the Society in their afflicting bereavement."

The Hon. ABBOTT LAWRENCE arose to second the resolutions, which, he said, would unquestionably receive an affirmative response from every member of the Society. They, indeed, required no advocacy from him, or any other person, to secure their passage; but he felt it due to the relations he had sustained to the deceased, of a public and private nature, that he should not permit the question to be taken until he had tendered his humble tribute to exalted virtues, the memory of which is so dear to us all.

It had been the happy privilege of the speaker to be associated with Gov. Davis in bonds of social intimacy for a long series of years; he had also been connected with him in the care or arrangement of many important matters of general interest. He could say of Gov. Davis, that no one could be a more true and judicious friend; no one more devoted to the faithful discharge of delegated power; no one in whose bosom glowed a more pure or ardent patriotism; no one whose moral character was more free from blemish. Gov. Davis possessed extraordinary sagacity, incorruptible integrity, and industry which never flinched in the face of arduous labor. These qualities, backed by the results of close observation of men and extensive researches in books, enabled him to take and retain a position in our national councils which it has fallen to the lot of few men to achieve. They were qualities which even political hostility has neither depreciated nor denied, and whose beneficial effects illuminate the pages of our nation's legislative history.

Mr. Lawrence said it would be superfluous for him to specify the many and noble results of Gov. Davis's public

labors. They were on record, and had already been ably and eloquently set forth in the reports which had just been laid before the Society. The good which he has done "is not interred with the bones" of the great man who has fallen: the State and the nation have been made happier and better by his life. Mr. Lawrence (of whose remarks the above is but an outline) concluded by an affecting allusion to the beauty of the character of the deceased in his domestic relations.

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NOTE. — There are a few additional matters not covered by this Index, to which the reader is specially referred; viz., the list of errata and addenda on page viii; the newly recovered passages of the RECORDS, intercalated after page 26; and the contents of the Memoirs of Presidents Winthrop and Davis.

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